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NAPOLEON AND HIS FAMILY:
The Story of a Corsican Clan

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CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR

NAPOLEON — " 1814 "

NAPOLEON AND HIS FAMILY

The Story of A Corsican Clan

By WALTER GEER

* * *

MOSCOW—SAINT HELENA

1813–1821

BRENTANO'S : *PUBLISHERS*

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NAPOLEON
AND
HIS FAMILY

NAPOLEON AND HIS FAMILY

THE STORY OF A CORSICAN CLAN

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JANUARY — DECEMBER 1813

THE CAMPAIGN OF SAXONY

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ALTHOUGH Napoleon may have shown signs of mental and physical prostration during the Campaign of Russia, he had entirely recovered his energy when he reached Paris on the 18 December. At no epoch in his later career, except perhaps during the Campaign of France, in 1814, did he display more activity than at the close of this year of 1812, and during the first months of 1813: never were manifested more strongly his prodigious power of work, his faculties of organization, — his genius, in a word. Besides dictating a hundred letters every day, he saw all of his ministers, received their reports, and gave them his orders, not only for the measures of national defence, but for the most delicate questions of internal policy. The day following his arrival at the Tuileries, he worked with Cambacérès, Savary, and Clarke, without intermission, from nine o'clock in the morning until long after midnight. During the first week, besides presiding over the daily meetings of the Council of State, he held a grand review of 40,000 men in the court of the Tuileries; visited the annual

Salon in the Louvre; hunted twice, in the parks of Marly and of Versailles; and held two large receptions in the Throne Room of the Château.

Etiquette at once resumed its full sway; the mode of life of the sovereigns and of the Court was precisely the same as in previous winters: on Sundays, there was the usual diplomatic audience before the Mass, the grand reception afterwards, and the regular family dinner in the evening. The Emperor hunted frequently, not only to keep himself in good physical condition, but also to give the lie to the reports in the English papers, which from day to day announced his declining health, and approaching death. To read the statements in the Parisian journals at the same time, no one would imagine that there were no longer any French armies beyond the Elbe, or that the Allies were preparing to invade the Empire.

During the first weeks following his return to Paris, Napoleon gave much time and thought to measures to assure the future of his dynasty. The Malet conspiracy,[1] based upon the false reports of his death, had been sufficient to reveal the structural weakness of the Imperial edifice. His first formal declaration, in his address to the Senate two days after his return, was all consecrated to this subject:

"The glory and the power of France," he said, "are close to my heart; but my first thoughts are for that which can perpetuate internal tranquillity and render my people immune from the strife of factions and the horrors of anarchy. It is against these foes of popular welfare that I have founded, with the will and the love of the French, this throne to which are now linked the destinies of the Fatherland. . . . Our fathers had for a rallying cry: *Le Roi est mort, Vive le Roi!* These few words sum up the principal advantages of the Monarchy."

In this statement he strikes the key-note of his future program. When the Malet conspirators announced the death of the Emperor, not a voice in Paris was raised to cry: *Vive*

[1] For a full account of this conspiracy, see 2 Pasquier, 12–41.

l'Empereur! No one had thought of his son, the King of Rome. All of his efforts to insure the perpetuity of his dynasty had been in vain: the painful sacrifice of Joséphine, the Austrian marriage, the birth of an heir to his throne.

Up to this time, the Empress Marie-Louise had had no more part in the government than the Empress Joséphine. He now decided to bring the Empress out of her seclusion, have her invested with the regency, and have his son solemnly crowned as the heir to the throne. Within three days after his return, he ordered made a thorough research of French history, since the reign of Charlemagne, for the records of the coronations of heirs to the throne, and of the appointments of regents. These reports were printed in small brochures, for the benefit of the principal dignitaries of the Empire, and were later published in the two official journals, for the information of the general public.

The most important step of all, however, was to effect a reconciliation with Pius the Seventh, and persuade the Supreme Pontiff to issue from his capitivity to crown the Empress and the King of Rome at Notre-Dame. This ceremony, Napoleon believed, would consecrate his dynasty in the eyes of all Europe, and assure tranquillity at home as well as peace abroad.

When Napoleon took possession of the Papal States, Pius had gone to Savona to live; but, prior to the Russian campaign, the Emperor had ordered him removed to Fontainebleau, on the pretext that he was in danger of falling into the hands of the English, whose ships were cruising off Genoa.[2]

Since his excommunication by the Pope, three years before, Napoleon had had no correspondence with Pius; but he now took the first step toward a reconciliation by writing the Holy Father, on the 29 December: "Perhaps we may be able to attain the object so much to be desired of putting an end to the differences which divide the Church and the State; for my part, I am very favorably disposed, and it will all depend upon Your Holiness."

The Pope responded by sending Cardinal Doria to see the

[2] 2 Artaud, 293.

Emperor, and Napoleon followed the matter up by despatching to Fontainebleau Mgr. Duvoisin, the Bishop of Nantes, who reported that the outlook was very favorable. Then, on the 19 January, after a visit to Marshal Berthier, for a hunting party at Grosbois, the Emperor suddenly decided to go himself to Fontainebleau. This move seems to have been made on the spur of the moment, for no relays of horses had been ordered, and no preparations had been made at the Château, where most of the rooms were closed for the winter.

No one had any idea of the real objects of Napoleon's visit, not even Marie-Louise whom he brought with him. His great desire for a reconciliation with the Papacy is shown by the extreme concessions which he made, amounting to a complete reversal of his former policy, and the restoration to the Pope of his previous rights and privileges as the Supreme Pontiff. The new Concordat [3] was signed on the 25 January; and two days later the Emperor returned with Marie-Louise to Paris, well satisfied with the success of his mission.

The date of the Coronation was set for the 7 March, and all of the allies and vassals of the Emperor were informally invited to be present; but the announcement was not made official, as Napoleon had already received warnings which made him hesitate. The Italian cardinals, who were included in the amnesty, on rejoining the Pope had regained their influence over him, and he was wavering. It was therefore necessary to act prudently.

The text of the Concordat was finally published in the *Moniteur* on the 14 February, the day that the Emperor opened the session of the Corps Législatif; but he did not venture in his address to make any allusion to the Coronation.

On the 23 March, it was formally announced that the ceremony was postponed, on account of the imminence of the war; and the following day, in a letter to the Emperor, the Pope withdrew his approval of the Concordat.[4]

[3] The text is given in 2 De Clercq, 277. See also Mowat, 263.

[4] See 2 Artaud, 323–325; also 2 Pasquier, 50–54.

But the matter had gone too far for Napoleon to abandon entirely his projects; and, on the 30 March, Marie-Louise was invested with the title of Regent at a kind of fête of the Court held at the Élysée. No one was present except the members of the Imperial family then in Paris, the ministers, and the grand dignitaries of the Empire. Such was the feeble outcome of the grandiose scheme which had so largely occupied the mind of the Emperor since his return. Instead of the solemn ceremony at Notre-Dame, which was to have rivalled the Coronation, Marie-Louise took an oath to carry out faithfully the orders which the Emperor might give her during his absence. "In place of an altar," writes M. Masson, "there was a green carpet; in place of a nation, a Court; in place of the Army, half a score of women in evening gowns!" [5]

The first week in March, Marie-Louise had persuaded the Emperor to move to the Trianon, where she always preferred to reside. The party was a small one, comprising, among others, Duroc, Caulaincourt, Hortense, and Catherine. There were no entertainments of any kind, and the palace had never been so sad and quiet. The Emperor dined when he found time, often not before eight o'clock, and then, overcome with fatigue, "dragged his wife off to bed at nine." On the 23 March they returned to the Tuileries, for the close of the session of the Corps Législatif, but went a few days later to the Élysée, where the Emperor could work more quietly, and could also secure a little exercise by promenades in the gardens.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 15 April, Napoleon left Saint-Cloud to put himself at the head of the Grand Army. By almost superhuman efforts, during the winter of 1813, he had raised, armed, and equipped a new force of 360,000 men. The nucleus of his army consisted of 30,000 veteran troops withdrawn from Spain, with the addition of 80,000 men enlisted as a Home Guard in 1812, and 250,000 young conscripts. With this motley force, on the second day of May he

[5] Masson, *Marie-Louise*, 434.

defeated the Allies at Lützen; on the 8th, he entered Dresden as a victor, and Saxony returned to her alliance with him. On the 20–21 May, he again defeated the enemy at Bautzen; but neither of these battles was decisive, as the Emperor did not have the cavalry to follow them up.

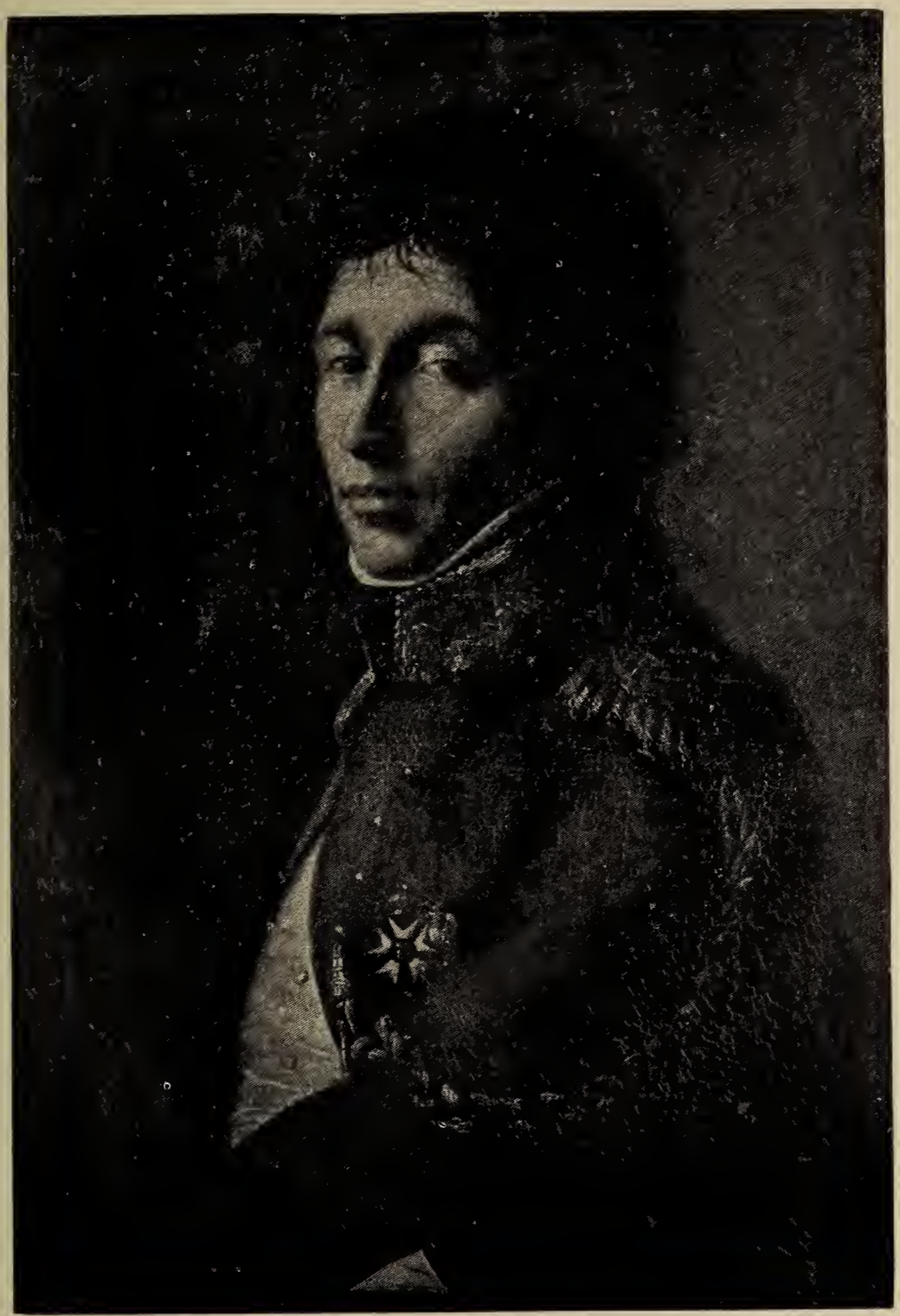
On the first day of the battle of Bautzen, the grand marshal, Duroc, received his death-wound almost by the side of Napoleon. His body was taken to Dresden, where the journey of the cortège through the city gave rise to rumors that Napoleon had returned, seriously wounded, and that the matter was hushed up so as not to alarm his troops. Crowds gathered in the streets to watch the least ray of light in the windows of that part of the Château which he had previously occupied. When Napoleon finally returned to Dresden, at five o'clock on the morning of the 10 June, there were persons who declared, with the greatest assurance, that he was replaced in his carriage by a wax manikin! As the arrival of the Emperor was not announced until some hours later, by salvos of artillery and the ringing of bells, these stories, for the moment, were credited by many persons.[6]

The truth is, that Napoleon went to bed on his arrival, as he had not slept well for several nights. His *lever* was held at ten o'clock; and at noon he received the King of Saxony. The following day, the *lever* was at nine, and at ten o'clock, Napoleon, on horseback, reviewed his troops in the large field of Dresden, the Ostrawiese: even the most skeptical were then forced to admit that he was not in the last extremity![7]

During this campaign, Napoleon no longer displayed the activity of Austerlitz, Jena, and Eckmühl. He had begun to feel the inroads of age: Time had not been kind to this superman, who, in forty years, had lived several human existences. His suite had not failed to remark that he was more and more subject to attacks of overpowering somnolence; and that, if

[6] See Odeleben, 2 *Relation circonstanciée de la campagne de Saxe,* 307–308.

[7] See Schuermans, 325. Napoleon's headquarters at this time were in the Marcolini Palace, which was later transformed into a hospital.



DUROC, DUC DE FRIOUL

his mind retained its lucidity, his force of will declined. "Heedless, and fearful of fatigue," writes Marmont; "blasé above all; indifferent to everything; no longer believing the truth unless it was in accord with his passions, his interests, or his caprices; with a Satanic pride, and a great disdain for men, his mind was still the same — the most vast, the most extended, the most profound, the most productive that ever existed; but without will-power, without decision, and with an instability which resembled weakness." [8]

This weakness became more and more manifest during the final months of 1813. The victory of Dresden, on the 27 August, was the last of Napoleon's great successes; but a sudden indisposition robbed him of the fruits of this fine feat of arms.

The operations around Dresden took place under a driving rain; and Napoleon, like every one else, was drenched to the skin. "The Emperor returned to the city," his valet de chambre relates, "in a terrible state, his clothing wet through, his castor hat drooping upon his shoulders, his boots full of water, and he himself shaking with fever. He was put to bed, and later in his bath, where he had an attack of nausea."

It appears that, in going to Pirna with his troops, in pursuit of the vanquished enemy, Napoleon had an attack of stomach trouble. He was then urged by some of his staff to abandon the pursuit, and return to Dresden. Through articles which have been published in recent years, we know to-day, in the fullest details, what followed:

Daru, who was a member of the Imperial general-staff, writes M. de Pasquier,[9] by some accident found himself about a league in the rear of the head of the pursuing column. As he rode to the front, he was surprised to meet the Emperor retracing his steps toward Dresden. None of the officers whom Daru questioned was able to give any explanation of the reasons for so sudden a change in Napoleon's plans. Two days later, on his return to headquarters, Daru heard that there were grievous reports in circulation regarding the corps of Vandamme. When he entered the Emperor's cabinet, he at once

[8] Marmont, *Mémories.*

[9] Pasquier, 2 *Mémoires,* 86.

inquired of Napoleon what he was to believe. "Everything that is most sinister," was the reply; "the corps is destroyed, and my Bohemian expedition has become impossible."

Then Napoleon explained his abandonment of the pursuit by stating that, during the march, he had been attacked by such violent pains in his abdomen that it was impossible for him to proceed, and that he was forced to return to the rear. "However," he added, "it was no more than an indisposition caused by a wretched ragoût, in which they had put some garlic, which I can never endure; but I had reason to believe that the trouble was more grave." In reality, the Emperor feared that he had been poisoned, and this was the reason that he yielded to the importunities of the officers of his staff.[10]

There was lack of concord in the advice given the Emperor by his *entourage:* while Caulaincourt urged him to return to Dresden, other general officers favored Pirna, only a league distant; the Young Guard was already there, and from that point the Emperor, while finding the repose of which he had need, could have controlled the movements of his troops to better advantage than at Dresden, situated at a greater distance from the operations.[11]

Napoleon therefore left to Mortier and Saint-Cyr the task of supporting Vandamme, who would never have taken such great chances except in the expectation of seeing the Emperor come to his aid.

The above reports are confirmed by an ardent Royalist, who was in the ranks of the Allies:

"The next day," writes Comte de Rochechouart, "torrents of rain, which will always be remembered by those who took part in the battle, began to fall, and lasted without intermission for three days. I do not give the strategical details of the second day, so unfortunate for the allied armies. Instead of the victory they had every reason to expect, they experienced

[10] According to another version, it was a slice of pâté de foie gras which upset him. See Pontécoulant, 2 *Souvenirs historiques;* and *Journal* of Dr. Prosper Ménière.

[11] Marbot, 3 *Mémoires,* 275, *et seq.*

a crushing defeat. We began that famous retreat which soon became a rout. . . . A few days later we learned the reason of the sudden check in the pursuit of our disorganized army. A violent attack of fever, brought on by a chill, had compelled Napoleon to return to Dresden instead of going on to Pirna. The absence of orders from French headquarters had prevented the advance, which might have been decisive. Vandamme alone went forward, believing he was supported, and he was crushed. Napoleon accustomed his generals too much to receive all of their orders from headquarters, and to have no initiative." [12]

The return of Napoleon to Dresden turned his brilliant victory into an indecisive action — the prelude to the catastrophe. From that time on, "every chance became perversely against him; and we enter upon the history of this Campaign of Saxony, which tells only of reverses, during which the most consummate ability was paralyzed by the inevitable drawbacks of a position badly chosen at the outset, and which he obstinately continued to hold until the end." [13]

A very curious explanation of Napoleon's decision to remain at Dresden is given by M. Pasquier.[14] After a conference with General Sébastiani, who reported to him that his officers were generally of the opinion that he must change his line of operations if Austria joined the Allies, the Emperor said: "They are right, and my decision is made. I shall retire on the Saale; there I shall bring together nearly three hundred thousand men, and, with my rear based on Mayence, my right flank covered by the extremity of the Bohemian Mountains, I shall present to the enemy the bull's horns."

[12] Rochechouart, *Memoirs* (Eng. trans.), 212, 218.

[13] Pasquier, 2 *Mémoires* 85, *et seq.* Napoleon's valet de chambre, Constant, told Grabowski that the Emperor suffered for several days from a pain in his abdomen, which prevented him from sleeping. For this reason, he remained at Dresden longer than he had intended: this illness, although of short duration, therefore had its effect on the issue of the campaign. (See Chuquet, 2 *Épisodes et portraits*, 174.)

[14] 2 Pasquier, 81–83.

Having dismissed the general, Napoleon sent for Daru, and directed him to prepare at once the orders for the retrograde movement. Unfortunately, at that moment Maret entered the Emperor's cabinet, and said, in reply to Napoleon's usual question, "What are they saying?"—"They say that Your Majesty cannot remain here, but must take a position in the rear. . . . They forget that the great Frederick, with forces much inferior to your own, held out in this same position for a whole winter against the combined armies of Austria and of Russia."

This unfortunate appeal to Napoleon's pride made a vivid impression on him, and led him to return to his original plan of operations. Talleyrand was quite right when he said: "There is only one person more stupid than Monsieur Maret, and that is the Duc de Bassano!"

At this time Napoleon was overcome by discouragement, and he began to lose his former faith in his "star." Later, at Saint Helena, he said: "The star grew pale; I felt the reins escape from my hand, and I could do nothing: a thunderclap alone could have saved us. . . . There was nothing to do except to fight, and every day, through one fatality or another, our chances grew less. Treason began to appear in our midst; the majority of my officers were overcome by fatigue or discouragement; my lieutenants became slack, gauche, unskillful, and consequently unfortunate: they were no longer the men of the early days of our Revolution, nor those of the moments of my success . . . The older generals were tired of war: I had gorged them with too much consideration, with too great wealth. They had drunk of the cup of pleasure: now they asked only for repose; they would have bought it at any price. The sacred fire was extinguished: they wanted to be marshals of Louis Quatorze."[15]

At that hour Napoleon must have recalled the words of the great Corneille:

[15] *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.*

" J'ai servi, commandé, vaincu quarante années,
Du monde dans mes mains j'ai vu les destinées,
Et j'ai toujours connu qu'à chaque événement,
Les destins des États dependaient d'un moment." [16]

The final weeks of the campaign of 1813 do not exhibit the great captain to advantage. Having undertaken a defensive, for the first time in his career, his efforts seem to have been paralyzed. To the admirers of his genius, it is amazing to see Napoleon moving all around Dresden without attacking the Allies seriously. He remained more than a month in the Saxon capital, almost inert; at most he held several reviews within a radius of four or five leagues from the city.[17]

In a *Note on the General Situation of My Affairs,* which Napoleon dictated on the 30 August, he reviews the military outlook. In this memorandum,[18] which has been a puzzle to strategical students ever since, he suddenly throws aside every principle which he had laid down and so often demonstrated in his brilliant career. " Victory," he had said, " belongs to the armies that manœuvre "; again, " the force of an army is in its mass multiplied by its speed "; and neither of these maxims did he put into use.

On the 4 October, Napoleon again drew up a review of the situation in which he apparently seriously considered the impossible scheme of abandoning his communications with France and wintering in Dresden! Then he suddenly changed his plans completely, decided to give up his base at Dresden, and fall back on the Rhine. Having drawn up a brilliant program, in which one again recognizes the old commander, Napoleon once more became a prey to the most extraordinary irresolution, and remained inactive.

In the meantime, while the great captain waited and pon-

[16] *I have served, commanded, conquered, forty years,*
In my hands I have held the fate of the world,
And, at each crisis, I have always known that
The destinies of States depended on a moment.

[17] *Journal des Débats,* 10 octobre, Dresde, le 1er.

[18] See 4 Dodge, 173–175.

dered, the Allies were employing against him his own methods. They had distinctly outmanœuvred him, and stood in full force upon his line of retreat. In this predicament, instead of trying to turn the enemy's flank, so as to reach the Rhine, he decided to march on Leipzig, and accept battle there. It was a fatal error! "In going to Leipzig," says Dodge, "he deliberately committed strategic suicide. Any manœuvre was better."[19]

Napoleon finally left Dresden on the 7 October at six o'clock in the morning, and reached Düben on the 10th. He remained there two days, lodged in a small château. He passed most of his time, seated upon a sofa, tracing absent-mindedly capital letters upon sheets of paper, his mind undecided whether to march on Berlin or Leipzig. Meanwhile he paid no attention to the despatches which accumulated upon his table, and which remained without reply.[20]

A few days before the battle of Leipzig, Major Odeleben[21] saw the Emperor plunged in a kind of torpor: "He was sad, uneasy, as if overcome by Fate; . . . he had not the strength to do anything. There was no movement in his antechamber, which formerly was so crowded. His usual assistants silently stood around him, vainly awaiting his commands."

On the first day of Leipzig (16 October), the brunt of the fighting took place around Wachau, about two miles and a half to the southeast of the city. Here Napoleon held his lines firmly; but, on the north, Blücher forced Ney and Marmont back to within a mile of the town. On the second day, rain fell without ceasing, and there was little fighting. The French lines were drawn back nearly a league, to a better position; but the Allies brought up large reënforcements, which gave them an overwhelming numerical advantage.

During the night of the 17th to the 18th, Napoleon had another return of his indisposition, which always came inopportunely, but this time above all. The scene, as related by the Duc de Vicence in his memoirs, is very dramatic:

[19] *Op. cit.* 240.

[20] Rosebery, *Napoléon, la dernière phase,* 290. (Eng. ed., 255.)

[21] Cited by Colonel Vachée, *Napoléon en campagne,* 177–178.

The Emperor was prey to an extraordinary agitation. Every movement in the camp attracted his attention; his uneasiness became greater from moment to moment; his face was drawn, and of a livid palor. Overcome by weakness, he dropped on a folding camp-chair, in the back of his tent. "I feel sick," he said, placing his hand upon his abdomen; "my head resists, my body succumbs."

Caulaincourt proposed to send for his surgeon, Yvan, who was always at his command, and who would hasten to his assistance.

"I forbid you, Caulaincourt," cried the Emperor; "the tent of a sovereign has the transparency of glass, . . . I must be up, in order that every one may remain at his post; . . . the enemy is there."

In vain the duc insisted: "Sire," he said, grasping Napoleon's burning hands, "in the name of the safety of all, lie down, take some repose; I beg you, Sire!"

"But that cannot be. . . . It is impossible. . . . It is necessary for me to be up."

"Sire, permit me to call Yvan."

"No! I tell you. To a soldier who is ill, I order delivered a hospital-card; . . . who will give me the card of a poor soldier?"

A groan issued from Napoleon's chest, and his head fell on his breast. "Never," writes Caulaincourt, "never will that scene be effaced from my memory." [22]

A moment later, the Emperor took the hand of his aide, which he pressed feebly. "It will amount to nothing; see that no one enters. I feel better," he said, breathing with difficulty; "I am better, my poor Caulaincourt." Then he took the duc's arm, walked slowly around the tent, and little by little his face recovered its animation.

Shortly after this crisis, Napoleon, surrounded by his staff, gave his orders as usual, and sent instructions to all the army corps.

[22] Caulaincourt, 1 *Mémoires*, 271 *et seq.*

It is unnecessary to retell here how, through scarcity of ammunition and the defection of his South German auxiliaries, the Emperor lost the battle, in which his troops, although outnumbered three to two, covered themselves with glory, and maintained their positions to the end. In the words of one of his historians, "in the battle of Leipzig the Emperor surpassed himself, for he triumphed over terrain, numbers, and treason. . . . A new victory would have crowned his efforts if the repeated orders he gave for additional supplies had been carried out." [23]

Passing over, as of slight importance, the military operations which followed, we rejoin the Emperor at Frankfort, where he arrived at noon on the last day of October. He proceeded the following day to Mayence, where he remained until the night of the 7 November, and then set out for Paris by way of Metz and Verdun. He arrived at Saint-Cloud at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 9th; the following morning he held a meeting of the Council; and in the afternoon, a session of the Ministers. On the 20th, he returned to the Tuileries, to receive the oaths of the new ministers.[24]

During the final weeks of the year, Napoleon inspected the works going on in Paris, held reviews, and attended the theatre when he found time.

On the 19 December, the Emperor opened in person the session of the Corps Législatif: in his speech, he called on them for new sacrifices for the Patrie; but public opinion showed itself very hostile to him, and the session was dissolved on the last day of the year.

[23] 2 Bégin, 293; see also the *Bulletin officiel* of 24 October 1813.

[24] At this time, Caulaincourt was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

CHAPTER FIFTY

DECEMBER 1812 — NOVEMBER 1813

THE KINGS DETHRONED

JOSEPH — The Spanish Dilemma — Napoleon Wishes to Withdraw — Obstacles in the Way — Decision to Maintain Joseph — Soult Recalled — Joseph Finally Retires from Madrid — Defeated at Vitoria — Soult Sent Back — Joseph Recalled — Napoleon Assumes All Blame — Joseph at Mortefontaine

JEROME — Refused Permission to Come to Paris — Arrival of Catherine — Dismay of Napoleon — Reasons for Jérôme's Course — Catherine Given Meudon — Jérôme's New Army — His Visit to Dresden — Not Allowed to Divorce His Wife — Refused Any Command — His Loyalty in Question — He Leaves Cassel — The Capital Captured and Abandoned — Jérôme Returns, but Finally Leaves after Leipzig — Napoleon's Indignation — Jérôme Retires to Aix-la-Chapelle

ON HIS return to Paris in December 1812, Napoleon was compelled to decide at once what course to adopt regarding Spain. It was out of the question for him to attempt again the reconquest of the Peninsula. Portugal and southern Spain were in the hands of the English and the insurgents; the six French armies held only the places which they occupied, and they were no longer secure even in their winter quarters. In Germany, the Emperor would be forced to meet in the spring by far the most formidable coalition that he had ever faced: Russia, elated with victory; Prussia, eager for revenge; Sweden, anxious to play a rôle in European affairs; the States of the Confederation, ready to throw off the French yoke; and, perhaps, Austria, prepared for defection.

For several years, Napoleon had wished to withdraw from the unfortunate Spanish enterprise, and put an end to the tremendous losses which were exhausting his resources; but, on every occasion, he had hesitated to take the decisive step in the face of Joseph's claims to consideration as the chief of the

Family. At any period prior to the Russian campaign it would have been feasible to send Ferdinand back to his throne and conclude with him an alliance, but now it was too late. With the English army well established in the Peninsula, it was hopeless to expect any fidelity from a Bourbon King. Nevertheless, the one hundred thousand veteran troops who would be released for service in Germany, and the hundred millions a year, which the war was costing, were certainly items not to be disregarded.

This course was advocated by Maret; but, even in this supreme crisis, Napoleon once more recoiled before the decisive step: he was unwilling to face the wrath of his eldest brother. Another serious obstacle also stood in the way: at a moment when, in violation of the Constitution of the Empire, he was making Marie-Louise the Regent of France, in order to secure from Austria the support of his dynasty, how could he recall to Paris the dethroned King of Spain, and disregard the claims of "the prince the highest in degree in the order of heredity" to be named Regent? His only excuse for disregarding that article of the Sénatus-consulte which excluded women from the Regency was the absence of the French princes, and their occupancy of foreign thrones. If, while recalling Joseph, he amended this clause of the Constitution, so as to exclude him from the Regency, it would be impossible to deprive his brother of the right to sit on the Regency Council, "composed of the titularies of the grand dignities of the Empire." In that case, he would have to fear intrigues and opposition on the part of Joseph which would make it impossible for the Empress to exercise any authority, and which would destroy all the arrangements which he had so carefully made.

The first manifestation of Napoleon's intention to maintain Joseph in Spain is to be found in his letter to Clarke under date of the 3 January 1813:

"Advise the King, writing in code, that, under the actual circumstances, I think that he should establish his general headquarters at Valladolid; that the Twenty-ninth Bulletin will have made known to him the state of affairs in the North,

which demand our care and our efforts; that he may even have Madrid occupied by an extremity of the line, but that his headquarters should be at Valladolid; and that he should take advantage of the inactivity of the English to pacify Navarre, Biscay, and the province of Santander."

Evidently the intention of the Emperor, which was not made entirely clear in Clarke's letter to Joseph, was, to concentrate the French armies in the Peninsula at Valladolid, a base easier to maintain than Madrid; and to secure the communications with France, in case a reverse in Germany should make it necessary to recall the troops from Spain.

Once more, through subserviency to the Spirit of the Clan, Napoleon had violated his maxim that "half measures are always dangerous." His pretence of maintaining Joseph on the throne of Spain, while really taking the first steps for an early withdrawal of his forces, was to lead to many unfortunate consequences. Notwithstanding the known incompetency of Joseph, he could not well be divested of the chief command; and Marshal Soult, "the only military head there was in Spain," could not be retained in command of the Army of the South. Joseph and the marshal were at swords' points, and any idea of coöperation between them was out of the question. To a somewhat lesser degree, the relations of the King were also strained with Caffarelli, the general at the head of the Army of the North.

To meet this situation, on the 3 January the Emperor ordered Clarke to send the Duc de Dalmatie "a congé to return to Paris." This was not intended as any reflection on Soult, as the Emperor reserved for him a high command in Germany. In the case of Caffarelli, whom he recalled near to his person, the Emperor confided to him the command, during his absence, of the guard of the Empress and the King of Rome — the best possible evidence that the general was not in disgrace.

With the departures of Soult and Caffarelli, Joseph was practically thrown upon his own resources: no money to pay his troops, and no more reënforcements were sent to him — on the

contrary there was a continual exodus of officers recalled for service in Germany. The Emperor no longer wrote Joseph any letters, but sent his instructions through the Minister of War; and Clarke, a weak courtier, transmitted the orders in a conciliatory form: where Napoleon used the word *command,* the minister wrote *advise.* So, to guide him, in his rôle of commander-in-chief of an army of one hundred thousand men, Joseph had only his military ignorance, and the senile complacency of the incompetent Jourdan. Even the most optimistic could foresee only disaster — but Joseph had not returned to Paris!

At the conclusion of the disappointing campaign of 1812, of which he attributed the failure to Soult, Joseph had returned to his capital, the first week in December. Here he was determined to maintain the seat of his government, no matter what happened. At the end of the year, the Imperial Treasury was fifty-three millions in arrears in the soldiers' pay, and Clarke could not obtain a sou from Mollien, who was at the end of his resources.

On the 6 January 1813, Joseph received at Madrid the Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the Grand Army, which clearly revealed the extent of the Russian disaster. All the French officers were overwhelmed with despair, and the Spaniards foresaw the approaching collapse of the Imperial domination. But Joseph still refused to modify his plans, and conform to the necessities of the situation.

On the 8 January, thinking that the Emperor must have returned to Paris, he wrote to ask permission to go there, "even for twenty-four hours." But his object was not to discuss the means of national defence, or the assistance which he could render, it was only to air his grievances against Soult!

On the first day of February, when he had learned positively of the arrival of the Emperor at Paris, Joseph wrote him a long letter, containing the gravest charges against Soult — even accusing the marshal of complicity in the Malet conspiracy! [1]

[1] See 8 Masson, 85–87.

A month after his return to Paris, the Emperor found time to devote more attention to the affairs of Spain; then, through Clarke, he sent Joseph orders, repeated by every courier, to withdraw the armies toward the frontier, establish his headquarters at Valladolid, and assure his line of communication with France.[2]

In his letter of the 10 February, to Clarke, Napoleon said: "It is proper for you to advise the King of Spain . . . that I note with the greatest anxiety that he has lost two months as important as December and January, when the English could do nothing; and that he has not taken advantage of this opportunity to pacify Navarre, Biscay, and Aragon. . . . Why has he not maintained his communications, and why, after having knowledge of the Twenty-ninth Bulletin, has he not realized the necessity of being promptly in communication with France? There is not a moment to lose: Let the King set out for Valladolid, while having Madrid and Valencia occupied by his extreme left. Write him that the time lost is beyond remedy; that matters will turn out badly if he does not promptly put more activity and movement into the direction of his affairs." During the following two months and a half, these orders were reiterated at least ten times to Joseph, and as many to Jourdan.

Joseph certainly received not later than the middle of February the positve order to retire to Valladolid. On the 23d, he wrote that he would obey, and would leave Madrid himself on the first of March. At that date, however, he was still at Madrid; and on the 2d he wrote the Emperor to protest against the abandonment of the capital; also to complain because all the French armies were not placed entirely under his orders. His letter ended with a veiled threat of abdication if his wishes were not granted. But, this time, the Emperor did not yield, and Joseph was forced to resign himself to retiring to Valladolid.

When Joseph finally decided, with great reluctance, to begin the execution of the commands of the Emperor, it was nearly two months after their receipt, and the situation had become

[2] See his letters of 18 and 24 January; 3, 7, and 10 February.

gravely compromised. Wellington had arrived at Cadiz, and had been invested by the Cortes with the command of all the Spanish forces, with the title of generalissimo. He had repaired the roads, and assembled immense magazines at Ciudad Rodrigo: on the 13 May, he began his march. This news apparently did not reach Joseph until a week later, and then he allowed six days more to elapse before ordering the evacuation of Madrid. After waiting four days at Valladolid for the arrival of the convoy from Madrid, Joseph started for Burgos early on the morning of the second day of June, leaving orders for the convoy to follow. On the 12 June, against the protests of his officers, Joseph decided to abandon Burgos, after blowing up the citadel, and continue his retreat to Vitoria.

On the last day of June, at Dresden, the Emperor had with Metternich a final interview which left him in no doubts as to the intentions of Austria. In the hope of preventing his father-in-law from joining the Allies, he then agreed to accept his mediation for a general peace. He also consented to the holding of a Congress at Prague, where the Spanish insurgents would be represented. After the interview, at seven o'clock he mounted his horse, and made the circuit of the city at a gallop, as if he wished, by the violence of his exercise, to calm his nerves. At nine o'clock, he returned for dinner.

The following morning, he learned through letters from General Foy and General Lhuillier, forwarded to him from Paris by Clarke, that on the 21 June the French army in Spain, under the command of King Joseph, had been defeated by the English at Vitoria, almost on the frontier. All the cannon and the trains had been lost, but there were no further details — not a word from Joseph or Jourdan. The King had found time, however, to write Julie, to ask for money, and to announce his early arrival at Mortefontaine.

Since the opening of this fatal year of 1813, Joseph had clearly revealed his absolute nullity. If he had not upset the plans of the Emperor by returning to Paris, in Spain he had done irreparable harm to the interests of France.

On the first day of July, as soon as he had received through Clarke the first news of the disaster, the Emperor issued his orders: Soult, who was at the general headquarters, without any assignment, was instructed to leave at once for Paris, where he was to confer with the Minister of War, and the arch-chancellor (Cambacérès), and then to set out for Spain, where he was to take command of all the armies, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Emperor. The Duc de Dalmatie would be the bearer of a letter to King Joseph, authorizing him to take under his orders the Guard, and all the Spanish troops.

Senator Rœderer, who was in the confidence of Joseph, was to be the bearer of an order to the King not to pass the Loire; but, in case he had already done so, to go to Mortefontaine, "in the most complete incognito," and to remain there. Until the Emperor had made known to him his intentions, Joseph was forbidden to go to Paris, or to have any communications with members of the Government. To Cambacérès, the Emperor wrote: "You must employ force, if necessary, to see that my orders are executed." These orders of Napoleon clearly reveal that his first thought was still to prevent Joseph from troubling the Regent. The same instructions were sent to Savary, and were again repeated to the arch-chancellor: "In view of the bad spirit shown by the King in Spain, the Emperor would fear that his presence might cause trouble to the Regency."

Monsieur Thiers,[3] who has completely misrepresented Joseph's rôle in the Spanish débâcle, declares that "Napoleon threw the blame on every one except himself." This is absolutely contrary to the truth. In his letter of the first day of July, the Emperor wrote Clarke: "All the foolish blunders which have been made in Spain have come from my mistaken kindness toward the King, who not only does not know how to command an army, but, even more, does not know enough, in justice to himself, to leave the command to a man of military experience."

Later, Napoleon wrote: "It must be admitted that it is hard to understand such happenings in the case of an army like that

[3] *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.*

in Spain. One can attribute them only to the excessive inaptitude of the King and of Jourdan." Having said that, he reserved further comment until he had an opportunity to read the reports.

Clarke and Cambacérès, who knew by long experience that the quarrels of the two brothers were never serious, were not anxious to become involved, and took pains to soften as much as possible the measures which they were ordered to take. They sent for Rœderer and instructed him to set out at once: he was to prepare Joseph for the transfer of the command to Soult, and to persuade the King to remain in the South of France. The senator was to be followed, an hour or two later, by Major Verdun, who was to hand the King the official letter from the Minister of War, which was worded in the most conciliatory terms.

On receiving the communications from Paris, Joseph, at first, flew into a violent rage; but he afterwards calmed down, received Soult quite graciously, and left for Bayonne, where he established himself in one of the suburbs of the city. A few days later he received from Clarke a formal authorization from the Emperor to retire quietly to Mortefontaine, and reside there until further notice.[4]

In his letter to the Minister of War, the Emperor once more assumed all the responsibility for the misfortunes in Spain, which he said were "as great as they were ludicrous." He made no attempt, as M. Thiers has said, to escape the responsibility, so wounding to his pride. To Savary, also, he wrote: "In the last analysis, I cannot disguise the fact that I am to blame. If, as I had the idea, at the time I left Paris, I had sent the Duc de Dalmatie to Valladolid to take the command, this would not have occurred." To Cambacérès, he wrote at the same time: "I wish no longer to leave my affairs to the mismanagement of imbeciles who are neither militaries, nor politicians, nor administrators." If he had only taken this attitude sooner, how much trouble he would have saved himself!

[4] Napoleon to Clarke, 11 July 1813.

The conditions under which Joseph could go to Mortefontaine were clearly set forth: he was to guard the strictest incognito; he was to receive none of the ministers or officials of the Empire; he could see only his wife, his mother, the members of his family, and a few intimate friends, such as Rœderer. He was forbidden to visit Paris, or even to go near the capital. "If he comes to Paris, or Saint-Cloud," wrote the Emperor to Savary, "you will have him arrested."

On the 24 July, at five o'clock in the morning, Joseph left quietly for Mortefontaine, where he arrived early on the 30th. He was accompanied only by two or three friends, and a small suite.

Soon after Napoleon's return from Russia, Jérôme sent Marinville, one of his chamberlains, to Paris to ask permission for him to come in person to present his homages to the Emperor. The envoy had the honor of attending the reception at the Tuileries on New Year's day, but he could not secure a personal interview with the Emperor. He was well received, however, by Duroc, who questioned him at length regarding the resources of Westphalia, but said that "the Emperor did not seem disposed to see the King at that moment."

Jérôme, accordingly, abandoned temporarily his project of going to Paris; but, on the 17 February, through the French minister, he once more requested permission that "he be permitted to appear at Paris with a single aide de camp and only for twenty-four hours." He received a curt refusal, with the intimation that he should remain at his post, and attend to his affairs.

On the 11 March, Marinville appeared at the Trianon, where the Court was then in residence, and informed Duroc that Queen Catherine of Westphalia was in France, and desired permission to come to Paris and lodge in the hôtel of Cardinal Fesch, which he had placed at her disposal. No news could have been more unwelcome to Napoleon at that moment. It was a public admission of the fact, so carefully concealed, that

the French domination in Germany was menaced, since Jérôme thought that the Queen could not safely remain at Cassel.

As early as the middle of January, Jérôme had informed Reinhard, the French minister, of his desire to have the Queen go to Paris. The minister had duly reported this conversation to Paris, but had received no response. A month later, Jérôme again brought the subject up: this time Napoleon replied (2 March): "As soon as the Emperor Alexander, or General Kutusoff, has entered Berlin, or Dresden, you will have the Queen leave via Wesel, and send her to Paris, *but not before.*"

But Jérôme did not await the term mentioned by the Emperor. As soon as he learned that the Russian cavalry had entered Berlin, he announced in the Wesphalian official journal that "the Queen was leaving for Paris upon the invitation of His Imperial Majesty." On the 10 March, Jérôme escorted his wife as far as Wabern, whence she proceeded by way of Bonn, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Brussels, "in order to avoid finding herself in the midst of an army of one hundred thousand men who were marching on the route to Frankfort."

As a matter of fact, Cassel was in no immediate danger, and the King's haste to send his wife to Paris was due entirely to his infatuation with a new mistress. The Comtesse de Löwenstein had come to Cassel from Würtemberg in 1808, at the time of the organization of the Court of Westphalia. She was a married woman, with three children, and was about thirty years of age. She was soon distinguished by Jérôme, and acquired great influence over him. She wished to be a princess, and Jérôme persuaded the King of Bavaria, in November 1812, to give the title of prince to her father-in-law, the head of the house of Löwenstein. This title was recognized a month later by the Grand Duke of Hesse, and was confirmed, in February 1813, at the request of Jérôme, by his own father-in-law, the King of Würtemberg.

At the present moment, this woman was enceinte three months of a child regarding whose paternity there was no doubt, and she was anxious to get rid of the Queen, while she carried

out her scheme of leading Jérôme to the scandal of a double divorce and a new marriage.[5]

The Emperor was entirely ignorant of this latest liaison of Jérôme's, of which Reinhard had been careful not to speak; and he could not understand how, under such grave circumstances, his brother should give credit to all the rumors of trouble by sending his wife to France. Above everything, he wished to avoid the visit of Catherine to Paris. Therefore he sent to meet the Queen, and conduct her to Compiègne, his maréchal des logis Canouville, the brother of Pauline's former admirer. Later, he also sent Comte de Ségur, the grand master of Ceremonies, to welcome her on his part.

From Compiègne, on the 17 March, Catherine wrote the Emperor a pathetic letter, in which, with the greatest respect and affection, she claimed the consideration which she felt was due her. On receipt of this letter, Napoleon invited her to come to the Trianon, and she arrived there a day or two later. As it was impossible to accommodate all of the Queen's suite at Versailles, a few days later the Emperor placed at her disposal the palace of Meudon,[6] which had recently been fitted up for the King of Rome, and had been occupied by him and his mother during the summer of 1812. But this château was intended to be only a summer residence, and Catherine found it very cold and uncomfortable in the month of March. As the King did not send her any money to pay her expenses, the Emperor gave her the allowance of a million francs which Jérôme had abandoned in favor of his mother at the time that he mounted the throne of Westphalia.

[5] This child, Pauline, entered a convent, and died, sixty years later, under the name of Mother Marie de la Croix. Up to this time, Jérôme had had no children by his wife.

[6] This château was build by MONSEIGNEUR, the eldest son of Louis the Fourteenth, and he died there in 1711. In 1789, it was the residence of the first dauphin, eldest son of Louis the Sixteenth. During the Second Empire, it was occupied by Prince Napoleon, the son of Jérôme. The palace was destroyed during the siege of Paris by the Germans in the winter of 1870–1871, and has never been rebuilt.

On two more occasions, the latter part of April, Jérôme renewed his solicitations to be received by the Emperor, and received the same refusal. But finally, on the 17 June, Napoleon relented, and gave his brother permission to come to Dresden. Since the month of December past, the King had done everything in his power to aid the Emperor, and Napoleon felt that he had earned his pardon for his acts in Russia.

From 1808 to 1812, Jérôme had raised by conscription a force of 36,000 men; but the Spanish division of 6000 had been wiped out in the Peninsula; and, of the corps of 25,000 soldiers who took part in the Russian expedition, only some 2500 remained, about half shut up in Dantzic, the balance at Custrin. By remarkable efforts, since the month of December 1812, Jérôme had succeeded in raising a new army of 18,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry,[7] but the men were poorly armed and equipped, and of very doubtful fidelity.

All of the immense magazines which the Emperor had formed in Lithuania, Poland, and Prussia, had been destroyed, or fallen into the hands of the enemy. For his new campaign in Saxony, therefore, Napoleon had need of new dépôts near his frontier, and Jérôme had done his best to meet the exorbitant demands of his brother for supplies of every kind.

As a reward for his zeal and activity, on the 20 January, through Reinhard, Jérôme had demanded the command between the Elbe and the Rhine. But the Emperor, who had not forgotten his experience with Jérôme in Russia, was determined not to entrust his brother with any important command. He could not afford for the moment, however, to dash Jérôme's expectations; so he held out vague hopes. In the end, all of the Westphalian troops were scattered among the different corps of the Grand Army, as a measure of precaution, in view of their more than doubtful fidelity.

On the 21 June, Jérôme arrived at Dresden late in the evening, and went directly to see the Emperor, who had retired for the night, and given orders not to be awakened. At nine

[7] See his letter of 16 January 1813, to the Emperor.

o'clock in the morning the King was present at the *lever;* and during the following week he enjoyed all the brilliant life of the Saxon Court.

Most of the time of the Emperor was taken up with Metternich, and he had little opportunity to see his brother, but he saved Jérôme from the grave error of divorcing the faithful and devoted Catherine, for the purpose of marrying the infamous Löwenstein. Under penalty of an entire rupture, Napoleon absolutely forbade his brother to take such a disgraceful step, and Jérôme was forced to submit. On the first day of July, Jérôme set out on his return to Cassel, a much disappointed man: he had received no command, and his plans to marry the princess had been thwarted.

Jérôme's request for a command, presented through Berthier, had been answered by the Emperor in a manner which could not fail to be most wounding to his pride. "Reply to the King of Westphalia," wrote Napoleon, "that he will never have any command in the French army, unless: (1) he makes known that he disapproves of his conduct the past year in quitting the army without my permission, and that he regrets his act; (2) unless, in taking service in my army, he submits to all the marshals commanding the army corps, . . . as he will have in my army no other grade than that of general of division; . . . that war is a trade, which must be learned; that the King cannot command, because he has never seen a battle; that the King of Spain, to whom I made at the time similar observations, is full of regret and in tears because he did not understand them. . . ."

The doubts of the Emperor regarding the troops of Jérôme were fully confirmed a week after the renewal of hostilities. On the night of the 22–23 August, two regiments of Westphalian Hussars, with the officers at their head, went over to the enemy — horses, arms, and baggage. Napoleon immediately gave orders to disband all the other Westphalian regiments, take possession of their arms and their equipment, and

to cease all recruitments. "In the actual condition of affairs," wrote the Emperor to Jérôme, "you cannot disguise the fact that you can place confidence in no Westphalian."

Cassel was thus left entirely without means of defence; and, a few weeks later, when news was received of the approach of the enemy, Reinhard advised the King to leave; but Jérôme announced his intention to remain. In this connection, Masson expresses some doubts regarding Jérôme's entire fidelity to the Emperor.[8] The only basis for these, apparently unjust, suspicions is a letter to Jérôme from the former emissary of the Czar at Paris, Colonel Tchernitchef, who was now in command of some Cossacks on the borders of Westphalia. In this letter the Russian set forth that there was no reason why the cousin of the Emperor of Russia,[9] the son-in-law of the King of Würtemburg, should leave his States; that the Allies made war principally against the Emperor Napoleon and the French; that, if Westphalia would withdraw from the quarrel, the allied troops would respect a German country, and, in her King, an ally and a relative of his sovereign. Jérôme made no direct reply, but sent word through an aide de camp that, "King by the victories of France, and for France, the brother of the Emperor would not know how to maintain himself under the shock of his reverses."

On the 28 September, at four o'clock in the morning, news was received that the Cossacks were only a few miles from Cassel. The King named Allix commander in chief, and confided to him the defence of the city. Then, after breakfasting with a good appetite, Jérôme mounted his horse, and, at eight o'clock, formally announced his departure. The convoy, guarded by the hussars, took the route to Holland, which was open. To defend the capital, the King left Allix two companies of infantry and the unmounted hussars. Jérôme himself took as an escort his body-guard, two squadrons of cavalry, and a battalion of grenadiers. He pushed on through Marburg

[8] See 8 Masson, 169–170.

[9] Catherine, the wife of Jérôme, was a cousin of the Czar.

to Wetzlar, where he spent the night. From this place he expected to proceed to Coblentz, "but he would not pass the Rhine without knowing the intentions of the Emperor."

On the 30th, the Cossacks arrived in force before Cassel, and summoned Allix to surrender, under very favorable terms. The general at first refused, but was finally forced, by a popular uprising, to abandon the city. He marched out with his arms and baggage, and retired to Marburg, where he arrived with his convoy on the 2 October.

On the 30 September, Tchernitchef took possession of Cassel, and declared, upon the authority of the Crown Prince of Sweden, that the kingdom of Westphalia had ceased to exist. He maintained good order among his troops, and the greatest damage was done by the rioters, one of whom broke the nose and the arms of the marble statue of the Emperor.

In the meantime, Allix had received considerable reënforcements at Marburg, and marched on Cassel, which the Cossacks made haste to evacuate. The city was reoccupied by the French forces on the 7 October; a week later, Jérôme left Coblentz and proceeded on his return as far as Marburg. He entered Cassel the following day, and that night the city was illuminated in his honor.

At the capital, the days passed without incident, and the 8000 men withdrawn from the Grand Army remained idle, while the fate of the Empire was being decided at Leipzig. On the 24 October, there arrived Colonel Lallemand, of the King's staff, who had left the Emperor, on the 18th, departing from Leipzig with his Guard. The following day, without awaiting any orders from the Emperor, Jérôme decided once more to abandon his capital. On the first day of November, he was at Cologne, where "he awaits the news of the arrival of the Emperor at Mayence, to join him." On the 3d, he received a letter from the Emperor which must have been scathing in its terms. As it has disappeared from the National Archives, we can judge of its contents only by the instructions addressed at the same time by Maret to Reinhard, in which the minister certainly mollified the violence of Napoleon's reproaches.

"The Emperor," wrote the Duc de Bassano, "is equally dissatisfied with what the King has done, and with what he has not been willing to do. He does not wish to give Paris and France the spectacle of a dethroned King who, in his misfortune, has not the consolation of having left any friends in the country that he has governed. He cannot permit the King to come to Mayence. . . . Under the existing circumstances, the best policy is for the King and Queen not to cause any comment. The less noise they make, the better it will be. The King should reside in a department near his States — for example, at the château of Brühl. . . ."[10]

After an interview with Reinhard, Jérôme decided to take up his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle for several weeks, and ordered a fine house leased for him. On the 5 November, at nine o'clock in the morning, he left Cologne for his new abode.

[10] A royal palace in the small town of Brühl, eight miles southwest of Cologne.

CHAPTER FIFTY-ONE

APRIL 1813 — JANUARY 1814

THE KINGS IN FRANCE

JEROME — Catherine's Life in France — Her Spite against the Emperor — Jérôme Buys Stains — Napoleon's Wrath — He Assigns Compiègne to the King and Queen — Their Approaches to the Allies — Ignorance of the Emperor

JOSEPH — Julie's Influence with Napoleon — The Château of Mortefontaine — Napoleon Accepts Soult's Advice to Restore Ferdinand — Project for the Prince's Marriage — Napoleon's Talks with Rœderer — Negotiations with Ferdinand — Interview of Napoleon and Joseph — Napoleon's Demands — Joseph's Refusal — Treaty with Ferdinand — Zeal of Madame Mère — Joseph Finally Yields — He Is Made Governor of Paris

LOUIS — He Demands the Throne of Holland — Correspondence with Napoleon and Madame — He Goes to Switzerland — Refuses Advice of Murat — Efforts to Return to Holland — Visit to France and Withdrawal to Switzerland — Arrival in Paris — Again Refuses Obedience — Napoleon's Ungrateful Brothers

CATHERINE found Meudon so uncomfortable that she curtailed her stay there as much as possible. She made several visits to the Emperor and Empress, attended all the family dinners, and was present at the Élysée on the 30 March, when Marie-Louise was installed as Regent. "Meudon is a disagreeable place of residence," she wrote her father; "the weather is detestable." So, the last of May, she left it, "without regret," and went to spend a week with Madame, at Pont-sur-Seine.

She was very cordially received by Madame Mère, but the life at Pont was too quiet to suit her tastes, and she was glad, at the end of her brief visit, to proceed to Mortefontaine. Here she found the life much gayer; but Julie left the middle of June for Vichy, and Catherine was forced to return to the solitude of Meudon.

After attending the fêtes of the 15 August, in honor of the Emperor's birthday, Catherine made another visit to Mortefontaine. Her sojourn there was agreeable to all. "In spite of the sad circumstances under which we found ourselves," said Miot, "her presence brought some charm among us. She was beautiful and amiable. She tried to please, and she succeeded."

On her return to Meudon, she learned of the first evacuation of Cassel, and the departure of Jérôme, "forced to make his retreat with only the clothes he wore," she wrote. This exasperated her against the Emperor, whom she blamed for not giving her husband sufficient forces to defend his kingdom. In her eyes, the Emperor alone was responsible for all the evils which had overwhelmed Westphalia, for all the misfortunes of the King.

Having an occasion to write her father, without fearing the indiscretions of the post, she emptied the vials of her wrath against the Emperor. He had refused to let her accompany the Empress to Mayence, where she might have met the King; he had refused to allot her a residence at Paris, although her health was suffering at Meudon; her husband was the only one of the brothers who had neither a hôtel in Paris nor an estate in the environs; and so forth.

In the meantime, without the knowledge of his wife, Jérôme had negotiated through third parties the purchase, for the sum of 300,000 francs, of the château of Stains, renowned for the beauty of its park. It was not until a month later (22 October) that Catherine found the courage to write the Emperor to ask him "to seal with his consent a favor which the King had just accorded her." "For a long time," she wrote, "I have wished to possess in France a little *pied-à-terre,* which could be the pretext for some visits to this country, and of which the real object is the happiness of Your Majesty and of the Empress. The King has just acceded to my desire in granting me some funds for the purchase of a mansion, situated at Stains, in the vicinity of Saint-Denis." Napoleon was out of all patience when he heard of this act of folly, and his displeasure is shown

in a letter which he ordered the Duc de Bassano to write to Reinhard, his minister to Westphalia.[1]

Coming at this crisis in his affairs, the wrath of the Emperor would have been even stronger if he had known that Jérôme had acquired at the same time an estate of much greater importance, the château of Villandry, situated in Indre-et-Loire, for which he paid 650,000 francs.[2]

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On hearing of the purchase of Stains, the Emperor also wrote the arch-chancellor (Cambacérès) to state that he thought it was contrary to the Family Statute for a prince occupying a foreign throne to acquire property in France without his consent; and, if so, to have the sale annulled. "I am indignant," he said, "that, at a moment when all private parties are sacrificing their personal interests for the defence of the country, a king, who is losing his throne, should have so little tact as to choose this occasion to buy estates, and to have the air of thinking only of his private interests." In this same letter, Napoleon stated that he had ordered the King to proceed to Aix-la-Chapelle, and for the Queen to go there to rejoin him.

When Reinhard communicated these orders of the Emperor, to Jérôme at Aix on the 9 November, the King absolutely refused to obey. He even went so far as to menace his brother with treason: "I see traitors, like the King of Sweden,[3] affirmed upon their thrones," he said, "while I, the only one who has remained constantly faithful, am losing my own. They have made me propositions to remain at Cassel: the Emperor knows it. I could recross the Rhine to-day; I could return to my States; I would be well received there!"

Two days later, Reinhard received a communcation from the King, announcing his intention of setting out that night for the château of Pont, the residence of Madame Mère. Reinhard

[1] This letter is cited in full in Appendix A.

[2] The funds for these purchases were obtained by Jérôme through a very underhanded operation by which his new intendant, Moulard, had converted into cash some five or six millions realized from the domains of the Crown of Westphalia. (See 8 Masson, 232.)

[3] He means Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden.

replied by calling attention once more to the Emperor's orders. At this moment, the question was finally settled by the arrival of a courier bringing the news that the Emperor had assigned the château of Compiègne as a residence for the King. It was thus that Napoleon always yielded when he met with a steadfast resistance from his brothers. In this instance, did he fear that Jérôme, like Bernadotte, might betray him, and go over to the Allies?

It seems that Jérôme was indebted to his wife for this permission to take up his residence at Compiègne. As soon as the Emperor returned to Paris, Catherine sought an interview with him, and finally obtained his consent. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 14 November, Jérôme arrived at Compiègne, and found lodgings prepared for him in the apartment of the King of Rome. Here he was joined by the Queen, the same evening, and the little Court was soon completed by the arrival of some sixty personages, with four times as many attendants.

Jérôme was hardly well installed in the Château before he began to make approaches to the Allies, to conserve his throne. As early as the 5 November, Catherine had begun to prepare the way, by writing her father: "My husband has not been able, like the princes of the Confederation, to do what his blood, his honor, and his gratitude alike forbade him." Four days after her arrival, Catherine again returned to the subject, with the words: "If there is still any justice in the world, I am persuaded that you will have some influence in the general peace, and that then you will not forget the King."

Jérôme was so grateful for his wife's assistance that, notwithstanding the presence of the Löwenstein, he resumed his marital relations with Catherine, as is shown by the birth nine months later of their first child.[4]

Finally, on the 7 December, Catherine wrote her father another letter, in which she explained her ideas even more clearly. "The peace which they lead us to expect," she said, "should

[4] Jérôme-Napoleon-Charles, Prince de Montfort, born 24 August 1814, died 12 May 1847.

assure the existence of all the sovereigns; and, without doubt, after the sacrifices you have made for the cause of the Allies, you have the right to obtain that one of your family should not be forgotten. If politics admit some principles of justice, they cannot be vexed with the King for a conduct imposed upon him by the sentiments of honor which distinguish him, and I cannot persuade myself that they would desire to make him a victim of the impossibility under which he found himself to act like the other members of the Confederation of the Rhine." This letter was followed, the next day, by one written by Jérôme himself, in which he set forth and affirmed his pretensions.[5] As soon as the King of Würtemberg had replied, Jérôme proposed to send his Minister of Finances, Malchus, to treat of his affairs with the Congress.

Catherine has stated that these approaches to the Allies were made with " the knowledge and consent of the Emperor "; but all of the known facts negative any such claim. On the 20 November Caulaincourt had been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and on the second day of December he had officially accepted, on behalf of the Emperor, the bases of Frankfort, for the negotiation of peace. By the fifth paragraph, France had renounced all sovereignty in Germany: thus she had abandoned all pretensions of maintaining Westphalia under a Napoleonic king. Now, Jérôme's letter bears the date of the 8 December, and it was composed under circumstances of the greatest mystery. To admit that this *démarche* was made with " the knowledge and consent of the Emperor," we need better proof than the mere assertion of Jérôme's wife, and no such evidence has ever come to light. Under all the known circumstances, it is impossible to believe that Napoleon would have hampered his negotiations for peace in the vain hope of conserving for Jérôme his visionary sovereignty.

On his return to Mortefontaine, Joseph found Julie absent, at Vichy, where she was taking one of her interminable *cures*, from which she never seemed to derive any permanent benefit.

[5] See Appendix B.

Less impulsive, and more adroit than her husband, she had been successful on many occasions in the past in reconciling the two brothers. Although living most of the time in retirement, and taking no part in the intrigues of the Imperial Court, she was perhaps the only person in the Empire and in the Family who had never done anything to displease Napoleon, and who had always preserved a notable influence over him. She had also established herself on a certain footing of intimacy with Marie-Louise, based less upon sympathy with the new Empress, than upon antipathy for the old one.

On her arrival, two days later, Julie found her husband more intractable than ever. He was hurt and irritated by the course of the Emperor; full of rancor, in true Corsican spirit. He blamed everybody except himself for the loss of his throne. His confidence in his genius, political, diplomatic, financial, military, had never wavered; he was misunderstood, persecuted — but, he was satisfied with himself, and that was enough.

Mortefontaine had no parallel among the châteaux of France, with the possible exception of Malmaison. The old mansion, built in 1740, by M. Le Pelletier de Mortefontaine, still remained in practically the same state in which Joseph had acquired it in 1799. It was a large building, of no particular style of architecture, the projecting main part flanked by two wings or pavilions, with roofs of different heights, the one on the left being a story higher than that on the right. Above the basement, which contained the cellars and the heating apparatus, there was a *rez-de-chausée,* with antechamber, dining-room, billiard-room, large and small salon, and three rooms with fireplaces; on the first floor: salon, library, fencing-room, and ten master-bedrooms; in the high mansard roof: fourteen master-bedrooms and four for domestics. There was nothing princely about the château — it was simply a fine bourgeois country mansion. But, on the outside, connecting with the main building, Joseph had constructed an immense orangerie which, like that at Saint-Cloud, contained a theatre; also, buildings without end: kitchens, pantries, stables, carriage-houses with twenty

rooms above. The original park, of some ninety acres, with one of the finest English gardens on the Continent, had been enlarged by successive purchases, until it made an estate of 8000 acres. Acquired originally for about 250,000 francs, in 1811 Joseph claimed that the property had cost him, first and last, six millions, which is quite probable. The estate was situated between Survilliers [6] and Ermenonville, some twenty miles north of Paris.

On his return to Paris, the Emperor found a letter which Soult had written him from Saint-Jean-de-Luz, under date of the 3 November. Recalling a conversation which they had had at Dresden, on the subject of the Spanish situation, the marshal ventured to suggest that the time had come for the Emperor to send Ferdinand back to his Kingdom, as the sole means of securing peace in the Peninsula. After outlining the present condition of affairs, Soult said: "All these circumstances, taken together, cause me to think that it needs perhaps only a pretext to lead the Spanish nation to turn its arms against the English, and to become the ally of Your Majesty." To accomplish this, said Soult, it would be sufficient for the Emperor to form a family alliance with the Prince of the Asturias. This would necessitate the withdrawal of the English forces to Portugal, and would clear up the whole situation in the Peninsula. At the same time, it would release, for use in Germany, all of the French armies employed in Spain.

Napoleon at once seized upon this suggestion, which corresponded so well with his own ideas. Notwithstanding the failure of his own marriage, he had not lost faith in the strength of family alliances. But the only girl in the family presumably old enough for marriage was Zénaïde, the elder daughter of Joseph, who was not yet thirteen, while Ferdinand was twenty-nine. This matter, however, had little weight in the mind of a Corsican: Napoleon's mother was barely fourteen at the date of her marriage. His resolution to carry out this

[6] It was from this place that Joseph took the title of Comte de Survilliers, by which he was known after the fall of the Empire.

scheme was fortified by a letter which had just fallen under his eyes, from Rœderer to his friend General Dumas, in which the senator spoke of the maturity of Joseph's daughter, and said that he could see no reason for putting off her marriage.

Napoleon probably broached the subject to Julie, when she visited Saint-Cloud on the 10 November, for she asked Rœderer to come and see her at Mortefontaine the following day. On the 12th after his *lever,* the Emperor kept Rœderer, and had a long talk with him. To pave the way for a reconciliation with his brother, Napoleon said that Joseph might come to Paris as often as he wished. Then, he continued: "But, besides this, what does he want? Does he still think of reigning?" — "Sire, I believe so." — "Does he still want the throne of Spain?" — "Sire," replied Rœderer, "he thinks, as I presume, that it will yet be possible for him to negotiate." — "A chimera!" said the Emperor. "They do not want him; they regard him as incapable. . . . I have sacrificed millions of francs and men by the hundred-thousands to cause him to reign in Spain. It has been one of my errors that I thought my brothers necessary to assure my dynasty. My dynasty is assured without them. . . . To-day I would not give a hair of my head to have Joseph in Spain rather than Ferdinand. The Spaniards will always be united to France by their interests; Ferdinand will not be opposed to me more than Joseph." [7]

That same day (12 November), Napoleon gave instructions to the Duc de Bassano that La Forest, the former ambassador to Madrid, who was living in retirement at his château near Blois, should go "incognito, with a single domestic, and in a carriage as modest as possible," to the château of Valençay, and deliver a letter to the Prince of the Asturias. The Emperor began his instructions by stating that he desired to conclude his affairs with Spain. Then, after touching on several political questions, such as the evacuation by the French forces, the return of Prince Ferdinand to Madrid, a pension for his

[7] Rœderer, *Œuvres.* (Rœderer was "the most independent man to be encountered by Napoleon during twenty years, and the most valuable recorder of conversations." — Ludwig, *Napoleon,* 169.)

father, and so on, the ambassador was instructed to propose to Ferdinand the hand of the Princess Zénaïde — an alliance such as the prince had sought for the past five years.

Napoleon, after all his talks with Julie and Rœderer, naturally imagined that Joseph was cognizant of this plan, and willing to carry it out; but nothing had yet been said to him on the subject.

On the 27 November, Napoleon addressed to Joseph a letter inviting him to come to Paris the following day. On the 28th, accordingly, the King, accompanied by Miot, arrived in the city at eight o'clock in the evening, and went to the residence of Rœderer, 99 Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré. A little later, Comte de Flahaut, one of the aides de camp of the Emperor, came to conduct Joseph to the Tuileries, where he was led, by a secret stairway, to Napoleon's cabinet.

The interview lasted a long time. Without making any allusions to the past, the Emperor spoke only of the present and the future. He said that he could no longer think of any foreign domination, and should consider himself fortunate if he could preserve the ancient territorial limits of France. Everything, around him, threatened ruin at that moment. His armies were annihilated, and it would be most difficult to replace his forces. Holland was lost for ever; Italy was trembling in the balance; the King of Naples was negotiating with the Allies. Belgium, and the provinces along the Rhine, were offering but feeble support; the Spanish frontier had been pierced by the enemy. Under such circumstances, when France could hardly defend her own territory, how could he think of supporting a foreign throne? Joseph must therefore renounce Spain; he must descend to the rank of a French prince, or go into absolute retirement at a distance from Paris. "I will give Spain back to Ferdinand," said the Emperor in conclusion; "I will give him to the Spaniards under the sole condition of their respecting the frontier of France, and placing themselves between the English and us. I hope, after this great concession, to be able to withdraw without danger the army which I have

upon the Pyrenees, to transport it to Italy against the Austrians. Everything is good, to obtain this result."

Before others, the Emperor pretended to be full of hope; in this frank exposé of his situation, he showed that he had no illusions. It should have been the first duty of Joseph to accept the situation, return to his rank of French prince, and do everything in his power to aid his brother. But Joseph did nothing of the kind: he refused his consent, returned to the hôtel of Rœderer, and from there set out for Mortefontaine. The day after his return home (30 November), he wrote the Emperor a long letter, in which he practically demanded that France should replace him upon his throne. He could not have taken a more exalted tone had he been a Bourbon or a Stuart, a legitimate king by divine right.[8]

On the 2 December, Joseph sent for Rœderer, who made the journey to Mortefontaine in a terrible storm, and returned the same night. The following morning (4 December), the senator attended the *lever* of the Emperor, to whom he set forth Joseph's demands, which were nothing less than territorial compensations, in case he ceded the crown of Spain. He suggested that negotiations should be undertaken with the Allied Powers, and that the influence of Bernadotte would be decisive in his favor. Napoleon replied that England, Austria, and Russia, as a condition precedent to any negotiations, demanded the restoration of Ferdinand; that Bernadotte had not the slightest authority in the Councils of the Allies, and that, if he had, no loyal Frenchman could come in contact with this traitor. The Emperor said further that he should regard Joseph's renunciation of the throne of Spain as the most signal manifestation of his love for France, and his affection for himself. As for territorial compensations, where could he find them? To conserve the natural limits of France, he must gain many victories; to retain any territory beyond the Alps he must win many more. In conclusion, Napoleon again set forth the two alternatives: Joseph must either resume his place as a French

[8] See Appendix C.

prince, or he must live as a private citizen forty leagues from Paris.

Such was the obstinacy of Joseph that he would accept neither alternative. During the whole month of December the discussion continued: both Julie and Rœderer made many trips between Mortefontaine and the Tuileries, without bringing the question any nearer to a decision. It is said that one morning the senator arrived at the Tuileries with a definite refusal from Joseph, at a moment when the Emperor, while taking his breakfast, was playing with the King of Rome. "The poor wretch," said Napoleon, "he wants to reign; he does not see that this child will reign no more than himself!"

But matters could not remain in this uncertainty, and on the 11 December a treaty was signed at Valençay between representatives of the Emperor and of Ferdinand, and the prince was to be free to return to Spain as soon as the treaty was ratified.[9] Under the circumstances it was impossible to insert in the contract any provision for the marriage of Ferdinand and the Princess Zénaïde.

In this crisis, Napoleon found a warm adherent in his mother, who displayed an admirable zeal in rallying all of the members of the Family to the support of the dynasty. She had a strong ally in Julie, who felt that Joseph was making himself ridiculous, and that his position was untenable. On the 27 December, Julie, who had been in Paris, returned to Mortefontaine, accompanied by Madame. They bore the ultimatum of the Emperor: He no longer insisted upon the abdication of Joseph, or his renunciation of the throne of Spain; he was willing to forget all, provided Joseph came at once to Paris, as a French prince; that he took up his residence in the Luxembourg; and announced, in a letter which could be printed, that, as first subject, he took his stand at the foot of the throne.

After taking two days for reflection, Joseph wrote a letter

[9] Pending the ratification of the treaty, which never took place, Ferdinand was detained at Valençay; but, on the 11 March, 1814, Napoleon allowed the prince to leave for Spain, as he then realized that the treaty was useless.

which was directly contrary to the wishes of the Emperor.[10] Thus, after these long negotiations, Joseph had nothing better to propose than a conference between his minister of Foreign Affairs (Santa Fé) and some minister of the Emperor, to settle upon the conditions under which he would consent to exchange his crown against some agreeable compensation!

Pretending that he was too ill to travel to Paris, Joseph remained at home, while Madame and Julie returned to the Tuileries, and delivered the letter to the Emperor. Napoleon's time, at the moment, was entirely taken up with his difficulties with the Corps Législatif, which he was on the point of adjourning, and he made no reply. In the meantime, reports had reached Joseph of the alarming state of affairs at Paris; and he wrote the Emperor a very brief letter, in which he announced his intention of leaving for the city the same day, and taking up his residence at the Luxembourg.

Under instructions from Joseph, his minister, Santa Fé, had an interview with Caulaincourt, whom the Emperor had designated to represent him; but they could arrive at no understanding. Then Santa Fé proceeded to the hôtel of Madame, where he saw Louis, who advised that Joseph should take his stand at once by the side of the Emperor, without awaiting any further explanations. The counsel of Louis, as usual, was sound, when his own affairs were not involved.

Finding the winter cold almost unbearable at Mortefontaine, Joseph finally yielded to the importunities of his friend Miot, and came on the 6 January to the Luxembourg, where he wrote another letter to the Emperor. Without renouncing his pretensions to the crown of Spain, or agreeing to resume his rank of French prince, he made a great parade of bringing to the Emperor and to France his invaluable assistance.[11] On the 7th, Napoleon replied in a scathing letter, in which he once more insisted upon his conditions. "Make your choice promptly," he

[10] See Appendix D.

[11] No trace of this letter can be found in the Archives, and we know of its contents only through an analysis given by Miot, and an allusion made by Joseph in his letter of the 2 January to Louis.

said in conclusion. "All sentimental questions are useless and unseasonable." [12]

Joseph still held out, until Miot had the ingenious idea of suggesting to the King a conference with his Spanish ministers, at which Julie, of whose support he was assured, should be present. At last Joseph yielded, and wrote a letter which gave the Emperor satisfaction, if not on all points, at least on the essential ones.[13]

On the 9 January, the Emperor received his brother at the Tuileries, and had with him an interview which lasted three hours. Joseph agreed to give up the title of King of Spain, but he insisted upon being called "king," and upon the qualification of "Your Majesty." In the future, he and his wife were to be announced as "King Joseph" and "Queen Julie," with the honors accorded to French princes. As Joseph objected to the costume prescribed for the French princes, the Emperor consented to his wearing, like himself, a uniform of the Imperial Guard, but with French decorations only.

Having settled these grave points, Napoleon delivered his fortunes into the hands of this incapable brother, by making Joseph lieutenant-general of France and governor of Paris.[14] The family truce reveals Napoleon's isolation, his lack of confidence in his marshals and his ministers, and his undying belief in the Spirit of the Clan!

In addition to his troubles with Joseph and Jérôme, who made themselves ridiculous by claiming their lost thrones, Napoleon had no end of annoyance from Louis, who devoted the whole year of 1813 to renewed political activity. The kings of Spain and of Westphalia had some claims to the consideration of the Emperor, for they, at least, had not renounced their

[12] See Appendix E.

[13] See Appendix F.

[14] "This choice produced quite a bad effect. This dethroned sovereign, who had so feebly, so maladroitly defended his crown, seemed a very weak support under such grave circumstances. Since his return to France, he had dropped out of sight, and people hardly remembered his existence. The title of a dethroned king was not calculated to augment his prestige." (2 Pasquier, 142.)

thrones; but Louis, three years before, had voluntarily abdicated, and fled from Holland, which had been formally united to the Empire. Nevertheless, at a moment when the Emperor had met with serious reverses, Louis seized the occasion to withdraw his signature and reclaim his crown. On the first day of January 1813, under cover to Madame, and through the medium of the French ambassador at Vienna, he addressed to the Emperor one of the most extraordinary letters on record.[15] At this critical moment, he offers his services to France, "in the great contest which doubtless is going to continue more ardently than ever," provided his brother "is willing to reëstablish a kingdom which was his creation."

Napoleon, who disregarded the political phrases, was touched by this letter from his favorite brother; he sincerely believed that Louis wished to return to him, and that it only remained to arrange the form of their reconciliation. On the 16 January, he replied, in a cordial letter, in which he said that Holland was for ever reunited to the Empire, but he would be glad to receive Louis, "not as a brother whom you have offended, but as a brother who brought you up." [16]

Louis, at a later date, printed this letter in part: he did not care to put on record the truths told him by his brother, nor to show how indifferent he remained to Napoleon's appeal to his patriotism and his devotion. He was equally unmoved by a very affectionate letter which his mother wrote him on the 16 February.[17]

In his reply, which bears no date, Louis reiterates the same old statements; that he will consent to resume his French nationality only on condition that the Emperor gives Holland to his son, and agrees to let him live as a private citizen.[18]

During the following six months, Louis lived quietly at Gratz, and seemed to have abandoned his political ambitions. But, when Austria joined the Allies in the autumn, "he could not

[15] See Appendix G.

[16] See Appendix H. This letter was withdrawn from the Archives during the Second Empire, and we have only the fragment published by Louis.

[17] See Appendix I.

[18] See Appendix K.

support the idea that, in France, it was thought that he was with the enemies of his country," and he left Austria, although he had an invitation from the Emperor Francis to remain in any part of his dominions. In reality his departure was determined by an interview which he had with Fouché, who passed through Gratz, on his way to assume the governorship of the Ilyrian Provinces. He left Gratz on the second day of August, and finally settled at Bâle in Switzerland, early in September.

When Murat passed through Bâle the last of October, on his way to Naples after the battle of Leipzig, he advised Louis to return to Holland with the aid of the Allies. Louis replied that he could not do this, as the Allies would not consent to the neutrality of Holland, and, " for no throne in the world, would he ever be willing to make war on his country."

But, after the departure of Murat, he gave the matter considerable thought, and decided, in his own words, that " the moment was favorable to attempt to return to Holland." He sent one of his officers to Mayence, with a letter to the Emperor, in which he demanded the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, and a permit for himself to proceed there by way of France. He also wrote several of his former friends in Holland, to announce his early arrival there. Then, without awaiting any reply from the Emperor, he entered France, and arrived on the 3 November at the château of his mother, at Pont-sur-Seine.

The return of Louis was far from agreeable to the Emperor. On the 5 November, he wrote Cambacérès that, if his brother had come as a French prince, he was willing to forget all of Louis's foolish actions; but, if he came as the King of Holland, he could not be received, and must remain at Pont in a strict incognito.

Upon further reflection, the Emperor wrote the chancellor in even stronger terms. " It is terrible," he said, " that he should have chosen this moment to come to insult me, and rend my heart by forcing me to an act of severity. It is my destiny to see myself constantly betrayed by the ingratitude of the men whom I have the most loaded with benefits, above all by that

one for whose education I deprived myself, at the age of twenty, of everything, even of the necessaries of life."

Napoleon then went on to say that Louis could remain in France only as a French prince, and on condition of recognizing the union of Holland to the Empire. Louis was much disconcerted on learning of the Emperor's position, and took his departure for Switzerland. On his arrival at Soleure he received the verbal reply of the Emperor to the officer whom he had sent to Mayence: "I would prefer to have Holland return under the power of the House of Orange, rather than that of my brother: if he has a hundred thousand men to oppose me, he can try to take it from me."

Despite all of these rebuffs from the Emperor, and the silence of all his friends in Holland, Louis still guarded his illusions. On the 7 December, he wrote Caulaincourt, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, to reiterate his demands.[19]

However, the Allies were drawing near, and it was necessary for Louis to leave Switzerland. On Christmas eve, he arrived at Lyon, where he passed two days with his uncle, Cardinal Fesch; and he was with his mother at Paris on the first day of January. He immediately wrote the Emperor, who made no direct reply, but sent Caulaincourt to see Louis, and repeat once more his demands. Louis refused to obey, because, he said, "no one had the right to prevent him from remaining in his home."

Thus, while the entire nation was called to arms, these dethroned kings furnished to the public the spectacle of their foolish pretensions, their vanity, and their nullity; while the Empire was tottering to its fall, they had no thoughts except for their visionary thrones, to preserve which they were ready to betray France and the Emperor, to enter into any kind of a pact with the allied Powers. Louis, who was an invalid and a mad man; Jérôme, who was immature and irresponsible, may perhaps be forgiven; but, for Joseph, it is impossible to find any excuse.

[19] See Appendix L.

CHAPTER FIFTY-TWO

JANUARY — DECEMBER 1813

LAST YEAR OF THE EMPIRE

MADAME — Her Zeal and Energy — Her Many Trials — Reassured by the Emperor — Joy over Louis's Return
HORTENSE — Her Anxieties — Visit to Aix-en-Savoie — Fate of Mme. de Broc — Grief of Hortense — Neglect of Her Sons — Letter to the Elder — Return to Paris — Worried about Louis's Return — Letter from Joséphine — Pride in Eugène's Stand — Arrival of Louis
PAULINE — Her Fidelity to the Emperor — Not Exiled by Him — Her Poor Health — Affair with Duchand — His Career — Her Retrenchments — Sojourn at Nice — Confidence in Napoleon — Visit to Gréoux — Gift to the Emperor — His Remarkable Letter — Return to Nice — New Economies — Prepares for the Worst
LUCIEN — Birth of His Third Son — He Is Refused Permission to Return to Paris — Proposes to Join Louis in Austria — His Lack of Patriotism

IT is pleasant to turn for a moment from these worthless Napoleonic kinglets, with their ingratitude and their treason, to three faithful women, who, in good fortune and in bad, were ever devoted to the Emperor. Well has the Poet sung:

> "O Woman! in our hours of ease
> Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
> And variable as the shade
> By the light quivering aspen made;
> When pain and anguish wring the brow,
> A ministering angel thou! "

In Madame, Hortense, and Pauline, Napoleon found a disinterested affection, a devotion, a fidelity, which no reverses could weaken.

Madame, to whom Posterity has given the proud title of "Mother of Kings," exerted herself to repress the disorderly ambitions of her crowned sons, and endeavored to group them

around the chief of the Family. Under trying circumstances, and in extreme crises, she displayed her native energy, and proved the correctness of her judgments. In days of prosperity she had shown only the petty side of her character, with her constant demands for official recognition and her ludicrous parsimony. In time of stress, she was once more the brave Corsican matron, fleeing from her pillaged house at Ajaccio, and conducting her little family along the coast, to embark for a place of refuge in France.

Now, her small economies of those days have become millions; her few trinkets of rolled gold are streams of precious stones; the municipal officer is a king, the little captain of Artillery is an emperor; but Madame has remained the same. She advises, she commands unity; she summons all of the brothers and the sisters to the side of the one who upholds the standard of the Family.

During the year 1813, Madame Mère had many trials to endure. First of all, there was Murat's desertion of the Grand Army; but, in this instance, she had been somewhat reassured by Caroline's attitude and explanations. She was troubled by Louis's obstinate refusal to return to France; by the Emperor's quarrels with Joseph and Jérôme, and by the continued exile of Lucien. On the other hand, she was delighted by the return to favor of Cardinal Fesch, whom the Emperor recalled from his exile at Lyon, and employed in the negotiations for the new Concordat. But the sojourn of her brother at Paris was not prolonged; after the Pope repudiated his signature, the cardinal returned to his see.

On his return to Paris after the disastrous Saxon campaign, Napoleon came to see his mother, and tried to reassure her. "Far from being overwhelmed," she wrote Pauline, "I found him full of confidence in the success of his affairs. Matters are not so desperate as we first thought. The Emperor has left his army in a place of safety, and is occupying himself, with his activity and all of his resources, to be able once more to show himself terrible to his enemies, if they do not desire an honorable peace." She was indefatigable in her efforts: she went

from Paris to Mortefontaine to negotiate with Joseph, to Compiègne to treat with Jérôme. It was not her fault if she did not succeed.

At the end of the year, she heard that Louis was at Lyon, and wrote her brother: "I have been delighted to learn that Louis is with you. The Emperor has asked me why he did not come directly to Paris. Tell him that I await him at my home, and that his brothers should arrive this evening." And she concludes her letter with this phrase, worthy of a Roman matron: "My dear brother, there is no longer time to stand on etiquette. The Bourbons lost because they did not know how to die with arms in their hands."

Madame found some comfort in her daughters-in-law Julie and Catherine, especially the former, who had been her favorite from the first. But her antipathy for Hortense had remained the same, and, if anything, had increased with the years.

For Hortense, this drawing together of the Bonaparte family brought new anxieties. She feared the return of Louis, and a renewal of his claims to dispose of the life of his elder son. She also experienced many other trials during the year.

After the departure of the Emperor for the campaign, the middle of April, she went with her sons to Saint-Leu. From there, she went frequently to visit her mother at Malmaison, and the Empress at Saint-Cloud, for she continued to be intimate with Marie-Louise.

At the end of May, leaving her sons with her mother at Malmaison, Hortense set out for Aix-en-Savoie. She was accompanied by her chevalier d'honneur; her physician; her inseparable companion, Mme. de Broc; and two other ladies, besides several servants. At Aix, she lodged in the same house which Pauline had occupied the preceding year. On the 10 June she made an excursion to the cascade of Grésy. In order to obtain a good view of this miniature water-fall, it was necessary to cross a narrow branch of the stream, upon a plank less than a yard wide. The Queen passed over in safety, but Mme.

de Broc, who followed, lost her footing, and fell into the swift current, where it was impossible to rescue her.

The loss of her old friend was a great grief to Hortense; and the death of Mme. de Broc caused more of a sensation in Parisian society than the terrible lists of casualties of the battles of Lützen and Bautzen. She was a Mlle. Auguié, a niece of Mme. Campan, a sister of Mme. Ney, and had been educated at the celebrated school of Saint-Germain, where she had for companions all of the young girls who later became prominent at the Imperial Court and in society. The Paris papers contained long reports of the accident — particularly the *Journal de l'Empire,* which published an article evidently communicated by some one in the suite of the Queen.[1]

To add to the grief of Hortense, both Mme. Campan and Mme. Ney practically accused the Queen of being responsible for the unfortunate accident, for which she was in no respect to blame. Hortense had the remains of her childhood-friend borne to Saint-Leu, where she wished to have them interred in a chapel of the church; but, as this was contrary to law, she finally had a special tomb built near the church. At Grésy, she ordered constructed a bridge, with a guard-rail; also, a little monument, bearing a brief inscription, relating the accident, and containing a warning to tourists. She also endowed two beds in the hospital at Aix, under the condition that a Mass for the repose of the soul of Mme. de Broc should be celebrated every year on the date of her death.[2] The foundation was approved by the Emperor, by decree given at Dresden under date of the 29 August 1813. Of such moment was then the death of a friend of a queen of the Imperial Family!

Even taking into consideration the sorrows of Hortense, it is difficult to explain why her visit to Aix was so prolonged. She was still there at the end of August, and her mother began to remind her that she owed some attention to her children. In every letter, Joséphine spoke of the little boys — especially of

[1] It was probably written by Hortense's *lectrice,* Mlle. Cochelet, who printed it in full in her memoirs.

[2] See 2 Hortense, 166 *et seq.;* 2 Turquan, 2–9.

her favorite, Louis-Napoleon, whom she called by her pet name of *Oui-Oui*. In some respects, Hortense had a very strange nature: she was absolutely devoted to her children when she was with them, but seemed to be very cold when at a distance. To her elder son, Napoleon, she wrote on the 21 July in the tone of a mother to a baby of three years: "My dear child, I am well satisfied with you. Boucheporn writes me that you are very nice. You must continue to be so, and to think often of your mama, of whom you are the great happiness, as well as your brother. I tenderly embrace you both. The waters are doing me good, and I already feel better."

What a strange letter, from a mother to a boy of nine years! When we compare it with the letters of Louis to the same child, it must be admitted that the father displayed much more interest and affection; and yet, there is no doubt of Hortense's devotion to her two boys.

On her return from Aix, Hortense stopped at Saint-Leu only long enough to get her children from Malmaison, and then proceeded with them to Dieppe, where she had been advised to complete her treatment by a course of salt-water baths. The last of September she was back at Saint-Leu, where she resumed her intimacy with the Empress.

At the end of October, she returned for the winter to her city hôtel, Rue Cerutti; opened her salon, and began to receive her friends. Her time was largely occupied with preparing for publication her album of songs, of which perhaps the most celebrated was *Ne m'oubliez pas*.[3]

Toward the end of November the rumor spread through Paris that Louis was coming back to France. The Rémusats, who dined with Joséphine at Malmaison, brought her the report, and she wrote Hortense: "It is very praiseworthy and very good on his part, assuredly; but I fear for you new torments, and this idea causes me grief. Courage, my dear daughter; a pure soul like yours finishes ever by triumphing over all."

For the moment, it was a false alarm, but Hortense was put on her guard. The news at this time from every quarter was

[3] For the history of this piece, see *Napoleon the Third*, 56.

most disquieting: everything presaged the coming disaster. Through her regular correspondence with her brother, Hortense learned that the Emperor was being betrayed on every side. Eugène himself had been tempted by the Allies, and had rejected their offers. This, to Joséphine and Hortense, was a great subject of pride; at that time, every one who simply did his duty seemed heroic.[4]

On the first day of January, Louis really arrived, and went to his mother's home in Paris. Hortense took the news better than might have been expected. To Mlle. Cochelet, she wrote: "I have no fear; my husband is a good Frenchman; he returns at a moment when all Europe declares against his country. He is an honest man; and, if our characters are not sympathetic, it is that we have faults which cannot go together. . . . But our interests are the same; and it is worthy of his character to join all Frenchmen to aid in the defence of his country by all the means in his power." [5]

During the last year of the Empire, Pauline spent all of her time at a distance from Paris, but her voluminous correspondence with her mother, her uncle, her intendant, and her ladies, gives us a vivid picture of her life. These letters reveal her vanity, her frivolity, her coquetterie, her inconstancy in love; but they also show that, to her great brother, she remained unshakenly faithful.

The month of January found her at Hyères, but not in disgrace, as some have pretended. Although she rarely wrote to the Empress, she addressed to her the usual notes of compliment on occasions, and Marie-Louise responded as warmly as she did to any of her sisters-in-law — except Hortense. Not only was Pauline not forbidden the Court, but the Emperor wrote her on the 27 January: "I am distressed to learn of the bad state of your health. You would have done better to come to Paris than to move from place to place." This invitation to

[4] See *Napoleon and Joséphine*, 359 *et seq.*

[5] M. Masson seems to doubt whether Hortense ever wrote her confidante in these terms; or, if she did, that she was sincere in what she said. (See 8 Masson, 321.)

return to Paris effectually negatives the reports of her exile, on account of some supposed affront to the Empress.

Napoleon would never believe that his sister was seriously ill: he always regarded her as a *malade imaginaire;* and, in this respect, he was unjust to Pauline. She was very emaciated, and her health was very precarious; she could not endure riding in a carriage, and always used a portable chair.

Pauline had never ceased to mourn for Canouville; and, at this time, she ordered a bracelet woven from his hair, " which she proposed to wear always." This, however, did not prevent her from enjoying the presence of Duchand; but, in January, he was forced to take his departure. His leave had expired on the first of the year, and his request for an extension was refused. He was ordered to rejoin the Grand Army for the campaign in Saxony, where he distinguished himself. At Bautzen, he had two horses killed under him, and was rewarded with the golden eagle of the Légion d'honneur; at Leipzig, with twelve cannon he successfully resisted 25,000 men, supported by thirty pieces of artillery, and Napoleon made him a baron of the Empire.

The more Pauline was forced to remain immobile, the more active her brain became; and her mania at this time was to reduce the expenses of her establishment. She enjoined upon her intendant to effect all the economies possible, saying, " this trip is ruining me in every way." By great exertions, she succeeded in reducing her budget for 1813 by 212,000 francs; but, as her travelling and medical expenses increased by 57,000, the net saving was only 165,000 francs. At the same time she was writing Decazes at Paris to negotiate for her the purchase of a diamond necklace, at a cost of 220,000 francs. This may seem an act of folly; but it was more probably a judicious investment of her economies, for diamonds and pearls are easily transportable, and can always be sold for approximately their real value.

At this time, Pauline suddenly discovered that the climate of Hyères was too damp for her health, and on the 7 February she embarked for Nice, where she arrived the following day.

At Nice, it was current gossip that Pauline was giving fêtes and dinners every day; but, in reality, she was still very ill. "We pass our time," wrote one of her ladies, "in seeing Her Highness moved from one bed to another." Other letters, written during the three following months, tell the same tale. Every one was in despair over this illness which none of the physicians seemed to understand, or to be able to cure.

Fortunately, Pauline's condition was not aggravated by any anxiety regarding the future of the Empire. She was so confident of the success of the Emperor that she does not seem to have been troubled for a moment; she felt that the genius of her brother would once more triumph over his enemies. She did not see any papers, and none of the family wrote her about political affairs, both through fears of the post, and on account of the state of her health. This attitude of reserve was commanded, not only by the Emperor, but also by the princess, who had such a passionate admiration for her brother that she would not allow any one to insinuate that he could be vanquished.

At the end of May, Pauline decided to make another visit to Gréoux. She went by sea from Nice to Fréjus, whence she proceeded to Draguignan in a berline which had been expressly sent from Paris to transport her. Although the carriage was very carefully constructed, she suffered agony during the trip. The remainder of her journey, which took five days on account of the necessary détours, was made in a *chaise à porteurs*.

The sojourn at Gréoux began well; and Pauline found so much benefit in the waters that she soon began to talk of returning to Paris. From that moment her head was full of plans for embellishing her two palaces. Although she had little love for the Beauharnais, her desire was to model her houses upon those of Joséphine and Hortense, which she considered paragons of elegance and good taste.

Between two seasons at Gréoux, she went for five weeks to Aix, where she occupied a pleasant country house in the suburbs. Here she received a letter from the Emperor, from Dresden under date of the 19 July, approving of her plan to

remain in the South until her health was reëstablished. On the 20 August, she set out again for Gréoux, where she resumed her former life.

The letters of Pauline are so full of her own affairs that one might easily imagine that she thought of no one but herself. She loved her brothers, however,—even more than her lovers. She was very fond of her mother, her uncle, and her brother Louis, with all of whom she corresponded regularly. Above all, she simply adored Napoleon. This is abundantly proved by the following incident. As her health grew better, her attendants had been less discreet, and some inkling had reached her of the dangerous state of the Emperor's affairs. She wrote to Paris to sell her large diamond necklace, valued at 210,000 francs; and with the proceeds of this sale, joined to other funds which she had on hand, she brought together a sum of 300,000 francs, which she offered to the Emperor.

Napoleon was much touched by this gift. From Gotha, the 25 October, he wrote: "My sister, I am in receipt your letter of the 13 October. My expenses have been very great this year, and they will be even greater next year. I shall accept the gift which you wish to make me; but the good will and the resources of my people are such that I believe my means are assured to face the enormous expenditures which the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 will demand, no matter what the events may be. If this coalition of Europe against France is prolonged beyond that, and I have not obtained the success which I have the right to expect from the bravery and the patriotism of the French, then I shall make use of your gift and of all those which my subjects would like to make me."

This remarkable letter, the first and the last which Napoleon ever wrote in this vein, shows how much he was moved by this unexpected offering from his favorite sister, who was the first to tender him, in his hour of need, the little money which she possessed.

Pauline was kept at Gréoux until the middle of October by the serious illness of one of her ladies. Her mother was urging

her to return to Paris, to look after her affairs which urgently demanded her attention, and she would probably have gone there but for the advice of a new physician. This man, Espiaud, whose influence over Pauline was perhaps not entirely professional, had ordered a new sojourn at Nice. So, she set out on the 18 October, against the advice of her mother, and of all her suite.

After her return to Nice, her health again became so bad that all of her friends were alarmed. Under orders from her physician, no news was communicated to her, and even the letters from her family were left unopened.

As soon as she recovered from this state of prostration, she began to be troubled by her financial affairs, and instituted the most rigorous economies. "I well see," she wrote on the 14 November, "that my financial condition shows losses, but I support them with courage and resignation. Only, I shall reduce my budget for the next year, and shall have fewer expenses, as I do not wish ever to be embarrassed."

This spirit of economy, however, did not lead her to cut down on her gifts for the New Year, and she wrote her intendant, with her own hand, to select something handsome for the King of Rome, to cost about 3000 francs. For her own *étrennes* she received nothing, except a handsome set of Sèvres from the Emperor, who did not forget her.

On the 29 December, the news was received at Nice that an army of the enemy had entered Switzerland. Pauline, who was working on her budget for 1814, ordered new economies; but even after all reductions the total amounted to over half a million francs. On the 7 January came an urgent letter from Madame, demanding the presence of Pauline at Paris. But the poor princess was too ill to travel, and she began at once to dismiss her royal train. Most of her life had been passed in hotels, and this was to be her fate in the future.

During the year, Madame continued to send remittances to Lucien, which he found quite insufficient for his needs; but she did not succeed in arranging for his return to France.

At Thorngrove, the time passed slowly for Lucien, after the publication of *Charlemagne,* while awaiting the immortality which he was sure the poem would bring him. On the 4 January, his tenth child and third son was born, and received the name of Louis-Lucien.[6]

On the 23 January, Lucien solicited of the English Government permission to go to Paris to negotiate peace with the Emperor and Joseph, but his request was refused. He seems to have written his mother about the same time to ask again to be exchanged. Lucien was led to take these steps by his lack of money. All of his property in Italy was either pledged or sequestered, and André Boyer, whom he sent over in October 1812, had not been successful in securing any funds for him.

He had given up the idea of going to America, and was now thinking of residing in Austria. Less patriotic even than Louis, the fact that this country was now at war with France gave him no scruples. He wrote Louis to invite him to return to Gratz, saying: "If Austria accords me a place of refuge, I will come, without believing that I thus ally myself to the enemies of France. . . . There, I shall await and hope for our reunion for this summer; there, I shall recover my fortune, which is also yours. There, literature and a life without reproach will console us, especially if the Emperor at last signs a peace which will permit France, Europe, and the Church to respire." This letter fell into the hands of the Allies, who were delighted to publish this evidence of the lack of harmony in the Bonaparte Family.[7]

[6] He was educated in England, and did not go to France until 1848. He was made a senator and a prince by Napoleon the Third, but never took any part in public life. In 1870, he returned to England, and devoted himself to philology. He died on the 3 November 1891, after a long and interesting career. He was married, but had no children.

[7] The text is known only through the German translation.

CHAPTER FIFTY-THREE

JANUARY 1813 — JANUARY 1814

THE DEFECTION OF MURAT

Murat's Return to Naples — Napoleon's Wrath — Murat's Overtures to Austria — Cariati's Mission — Durant's Suspicions — Murat's Letter of the 12 April — His Ambition — Negotiations with Bentinck — English Proposals — Murat's Terms — His Letter to Marie-Louise — Napoleon's Demands — Murat Yields — He Is Called to Dresden — His Part in the Campaign — Caroline Acts as Regent — Murat Invited to Join the Allies — Caroline Decides to Betray Napoleon — Murat Accepts the Austrian Offer — His Return to Naples — His Deceitful Course — He Tries to Undermine Eugène — Address to His Army — Again Agrees to Aid Austria — Abandons Continental System — Sets His Troops in Motion — Hears of Withdrawal of English Terms — Succeeds in Deceiving the Emperor — Napoleon's Eyes Finally Opened — He Sends Fouché to Naples — Murat's December Letter to the Emperor — His Advice to Make Peace

AFTER abandoning the Grand Army, in January 1813, Murat travelled at full speed directly to Naples, stopping en route only to change horses. He passed through Dresden on the 21st, Rome on the 30th, and joined his wife and children at the castle of San-Lucio at Caserta on the 31st. The same day, he announced his arrival to the Emperor, saying that his health was somewhat better, although he was still suffering; he hoped that a little rest would soon restore him, and he regretted his illness only because it "prevented him from continuing to serve Your Majesty." At the same time, he gave out that, besides his jaundice, he was suffering from two wounds, of which no one had previously heard.

On the 24 January, Napoleon wrote Caroline: "Your husband, the King of Naples, abandoned the Grand Army on the 16th. On the field of battle he is a brave man, but when he is not in the face of the enemy he is feebler than a woman or a monk. He has no moral courage. I charge you to express to

him all the dissatisfaction which I have felt over his conduct under the circumstances."

The same day, the Emperor gave out that he did not intend to invest Murat's son as Prince de Ponte-Corvo until the young man could take the oath in person. Napoleon's wrath seemed to gather force, and on the 26th he wrote to Murat himself: "I do not wish to speak to you of my dissatisfaction over your conduct since my departure from the Army, as that proves the feebleness of your character. . . . You are a good soldier upon the field of battle, but, elsewhere, you have neither vigor nor character. I presume that you are not one of those people who think that the lion is dead. If that is what you are counting on, you are making a mistake. You have done me all the harm you possibly could since my departure from Vilna. The title of King has turned your head. If you wish to retain it, you must conduct yourself in a different manner in the future." [1]

Stern as was this admonition, the Emperor did not stop there. He caused the following note to be inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 27 January: "The King of Naples, owing to illness, has been forced to give up the command, which he has turned over to the Viceroy. The latter has had more experience of administration on a large scale, and he has the entire confidence of the Emperor." These were the same terms which Murat himself had employed in his letter of the 16 December to the Emperor. As the French official paper circulated throughout Europe, the Emperor's displeasure thus became generally known; and this was the first public reference to the strained relations between the two brothers-in-law.

Having rested from his journey, on the 4 February Murat made a state entry into Naples, accompanied by the Queen and his children. An immense crowd had gathered to welcome him,

[1] Both of the above letters have disappeared from the French Archives. Under false dates (of the 17 February and the 10 March 1814), and in mutilated form, they were communicated in 1814 by Lord Castlereagh to the English Parliament, with the attestation of M. de Blacas that they were correct copies of the originals.

and he was loudly cheered. For three days and three nights the city was *en fête*.

But the vanity of Joachim soon received a severe check, when he read the Emperor's letter, which was awaiting him on his arrival. From a despatch sent by Mier to Metternich we learn that the King was deeply incensed, and was for proceeding at once to extremities. He talked of having himself proclaimed as King of the Two Sicilies, and Caroline had much difficulty in persuading him to forego his purpose.[2]

Durant, the French minister, was far from correct, however, when he wrote on the 9 February that Murat, surrounded at Naples by influences hostile to France, was induced to take steps of which he did not foresee the consequences. As early as the month of December, Murat had sent to Vienna one of his aides de camp, Cariati, accompanied by another officer, named Caraffo, to sound out Metternich, and negotiate some kind of an understanding with Austria. They left Vienna, on their return, the 28 January, and passed through Rome nine days later. On the 26 February, Murat formally announced to Mier his desire "to send a secret agent to Vienna to see if the existence of his kingdom could not be stipulated under the general arrangements to be made through the mediation of Austria."

Once more Durant was misled, through his friendship for Cariati, whom he described in a letter to Bassano as "generally liked and esteemed, and known for his attachment to the French." When he passed through Rome again, on the 8 March, Cariati announced that he was sent as a courier to the Grand Army, and was to deliver at Berlin the Order of the Two Sicilies to the King of Prussia.[3]

But, if Cariati succeeded in fooling Durant at Naples, and Norvins at Rome, he did not long deceive Narbonne, the new French ambassador at Vienna, who wrote to Paris the last of March to express his suspicions. On the 10 April, all disguise

[2] Letter quoted by Weil in *Le Prince Eugène et Murat*.

[3] It was not then known that Prussia had signed a treaty with Russia on the 28 February.

was thrown off, when Murat named Cariati as his minister to Vienna.

At this time, the fatal web which was destined to enfold the Emperor within its meshes was being stretched silently, slowly but surely, from end to end of Europe; at the centre was Austria, and Metternich was the spider who was spinning the toils. On the 20 April, Metternich wrote Mier that Murat " desired a guarantee which would assure his future existence; that this guarantee could be given him only by Austria; and that the King was ready, for his part, to support our march, if necessary, by all his military forces."

Thus, the treasonable intentions of Murat are established by a sequence of proved facts and of certain dates. His approaches to Austria had begun in December; they had been officially followed up the last of February; and they had been put in form in April. Murat's decision to betray his master had been made at the time that he was the lieutenant general of the Emperor, and the commander in chief of the Grand Army. The influences at Naples might have affirmed his decision, but they had not determined his conduct.

At the same time, Murat took every precaution to conceal his acts from the Emperor, although there were no longer any French forces in the Peninsula to coerce him. Grenier was gone; Miollis, at Rome, had no troops; and Eugène was detained in Germany. He had nothing to fear, in any event, from Pérignon, and the marshal was then absent on leave, to take the waters in the South of France.

The suspicions of Durant were finally awakened, but he could not write with any certainty that his letters would be transmitted by the post. As early as the first week in April, he sent a warning to the Emperor. Another observer, who kept Napoleon posted at this time, was the Queen. From no feeling of duty, or of sisterly affection, but solely from self-interest, because she, at least, did not believe that " the lion was dead," Caroline did her best to reconcile the two brothers-in-law. On the 4 February, she replied very humbly

to Napoleon's letter of the 24 January; and, on the 16 March, she had already received two letters from her brother, which she concealed from Murat, "on account of their contents."

At this time, Caroline seems to have been ignorant of the plans of her husband, and her pleas to the Emperor served to give Murat more time to carry out his plots.

On the 12 April, Murat finally addressed to the Emperor a long letter, the first which he had written since that of the 31 January. After speaking of the strong coalition formed against France, and the doubtful intentions of Austria, he asked in what manner he could be of service to the Emperor. He acknowledged that he owed his political existence to the might of the Empire, and begged the Emperor in turn to make it known that he should never lack the protection of the Empire. He then entered into a verbose explanation of his departure from the Army, and drew a dark picture of the dangers, internal and external, which menaced the French domination in Italy. Finally he endeavored to evade the solemn promise, made on leaving the Grand Army, and since renewed, to rejoin Napoleon at the opening of the campaign, by saying that "the circumstances are such that I cannot leave without compromising at once the safety of my States, and, by an inevitable consequence, that of Italy."[4]

Ever since the failure of his Sicilian expedition, Murat had been desirous of obtaining some compensation for the loss of the island. During the three years, his hopes, stimulated by the zeal of the Italian Party, had undergone a remarkable development. Now, nothing short of the whole Peninsula would satisfy his ambition. Joachim-Napoleon, King of Italy! What a glorious title! But how could he realize his dreams? There seemed to be no better way than to make peace with England, and secure her support.

The last of February, Lord William Bentinck, the British representative at Palermo, had taken possession of the island of Ponza, just off the Neapolitan coast, and had used this point

[4] See 9 Masson, 23–27; also Espitalier, 213–215.

of vantage to sow the seeds of insurrection throughout the Peninsula. When the noncombatants on the island were sent back to Naples, a war commissioner by the name of Bosset was charged by Coffin, the English representative, to approach Murat, with the view of establishing a friendly understanding between the two countries. Bosset saw the King, who eagerly seized this opportunity.

The first of May, Bentinck sent Coffin authority to continue the negotiations, but even at that early stage he laid it down as an essential condition that Murat should not be recognized as King of Naples. "Endeavor therefore," he said, "to prevail upon him to accept something in compensation. Tell him that it is in his power to become the Bernadotte of Italy, and that as a guarantee of good faith he should put Gaeta in our hands." [5]

After a conference with the Crown Prince, Ferdinand's son, on the 16 May Bentinck authorized Coffin to make the following formal proposition:

Murat was to declare war on Bonaparte and march with all his forces on the North of Italy. He was to surrender Naples to the King of Sicily on the following conditions: (1) that he was to have an equivalent, and (2) that he was to keep Naples until he obtained such equivalent.

In reply, Murat sent to meet Bentinck at Ponza two representatives, who announced their master's terms: The King would give his support to the Allies only on condition that Great Britain guaranteed him the possession of Naples and the Papal States. Such was the price that Murat put upon his honor!

At a further conference between the representatives of Naples and of England, on the 3 June, Bentinck adhered firmly to his previous terms.[6]

The envoys returned to Naples and reported to Murat, while Bentinck awaited an answer on a British vessel in the harbor.

[5] Bentinck to Coffin, 10 May 1813.
[6] Bentinck to Castlereagh, 10 June 1813.

By this time, Murat had received news of Napoleon's victories at Lützen and Bautzen, and he returned an evasive reply. Bentinck was convinced, however, that Joachim would ultimately accept his terms, and he sent a warship to England with a despatch asking authority to conclude a treaty, which authority was granted by Castlereagh on the 22 July.

From the first, Bentinck seems to have read Murat's mind like an open book. He saw all the deceit, all the craft of the man, his vanity, his egotism, his knavery, and his folly. On the 10 June, he wrote Castlereagh that he was sure that Murat would resume the negotiations: (1) because the victory of Bautzen was not decisive, and (2) because he broke off in the hope of obtaining further concessions.

On the 11 May, Murat wrote the Empress Marie-Louise a long letter which clearly shows the extent of his duplicity. He expressed his keen regret that he had not been summoned to share the fresh dangers that the Emperor was about to face; his pain over the manner in which he had been treated since his return to Naples; his desire to be restored to the place of confidence to which he was entitled by twenty years of loyal service; and his eagerness to carry out the plans of the Emperor, if clearly and definitely made known to him.

While Murat was pursuing this policy of running with the hound and holding with the hare, he was disturbed to hear that Eugène had arrived at Milan. This meant that his scheme of occupying Italy under the pretext of defending it was no longer feasible, and his fury knew no bounds.

From this date, the tension between France and Naples increased from day to day. Napoleon's attitude grew harsher as he became more fully aware of Murat's hostile intentions. Joachim, who was offended at the Emperor's decision to give the Italian command to Eugène, was more determined than ever to stand his ground. Matters were brought to a head when Durant presented the Emperor's ultimatum from Dresden. Murat was to furnish at once a Neapolitan division consisting of eight infantry battalions, a thousand cavalry,

and two batteries, of fourteen guns in all. The whole force was to be on the way to Bologna by the 10 July. Failing this, Durant was to demand his passports, and leave Naples.

Murat at once yielded. His negotiations with Austria and England had come to nought; the Emperor's victories in Saxony had showed that he was still a power to be reckoned with; and the moment did not seem propitious to assert his independence. Napoleon's situation was no more critical than after Essling in 1809, and he might yet crush his foes.

On the 3 July, the Queen gave an audience to Durant, and assured him that the King was ready to carry out all of the Emperor's orders. Then she wrote her brother, to say that he had no subjects more truly loyal than Joachim and herself. "It is the King's excessive attachment to you that has made him jealous," she said, "and his jealousy has put him beside himself. You have but to give the word, and he will hasten to put his life at your disposal."

The following day, Murat himself wrote the Emperor at great length. His letter was so vague, and so contradictory, that it is difficult to divine what his real intentions were. As usual, when he desired to evade the issue, his effusion was interlarded with a lot of protestations, and assurances of zeal and devotion. But he adhered to his demand that he should command his troops in person, and that he should be entrusted with the defence of Italy.

The 10 July, the date fixed for the departure of the Neapolitan division, came and passed, and the troops had not yet moved. Murat's anxiety was great, as he still waited impatiently for the Emperor's reply to his letter. At last, on the 26th, the letter was received, but it was addressed to Caroline, and not to Murat. As nearly as we can judge from the answers, and from contemporary documents, its terms were violent and positive. It showed that the Emperor was fully aware of Murat's negotiations with Austria and with England; it accused him of refusing his soldiers to the Army of Italy, and his own presence with the Grand Army. It charged the King

with treason, and summoned him to Dresden to justify his conduct.[7]

After receiving this fulminating communication, "the King remained for a long time closeted with the Queen." The following day, he had a conference with his ministers, and decided, against their advice, to set out for Dresden. On the 2 August, a circular letter announced to the diplomatic corps the departure that day of "His Majesty, in response to an invitation received from the Emperor and King, his august brother-in-law, to join his person."

Murat took his departure that same night, and reached Dresden on the 14th. The following morning he was present with the Emperor at the review. Two weeks later, on the second day of the battle of Dresden (26–27 August), Murat contributed gloriously to the victory of the Emperor, overwhelming the left wing of the Allies, and capturing ten thousand men. This was the last occasion upon which Murat was able to display his prowess upon the field of battle, as it was also the last of Napoleon's great victories. A week after the battle of Leipzig, Murat obtained the Emperor's consent to his return home. "The King of Naples," wrote Napoleon, "started for Naples last evening, his presence there having seemed to me to be necessary."[8]

Before his departure for Dresden, Murat had conferred the regency on Caroline, who assumed the burden with a light heart. By her inherited qualities, she was fitted much better than her husband to govern; she set a much higher value on the throne than did Murat himself. For him, the pomp and circumstance, the external trappings of royalty, were everything; while with Caroline it was far different: she prized the real advantages of the regal state, the power and the wealth which the position offered.

Up to the present time, Caroline had done nothing to arouse the suspicions of the Emperor, and it had not entered his head

[7] See 9 Masson, 58; and Espitalier, 248. This letter was withdrawn from the Archives during the Second Empire, as a *lettre de famille!*

[8] Napoleon to Cambacérès, 25 October 1813.

that she might turn against him if it were for her interest to do so. But Caroline was shrewd enough to appreciate the dangers of her brother's position, and it was not in her nature to carry her devotion to the point of risking her crown. In the meantime, while watching the course of events, she tried to follow a neutral policy. To Eugène, she wrote that she could not send troops out of the kingdom until she received instructions from Murat at Dresden.[9]

As soon as Metternich learned of Murat's arrival at Dresden, he had sent him a proposal for an alliance, similar to that formulated in his letter of the 16 July, and renewed on the 3 August. For this mission, he employed Schinina, the secretary of the Neapolitan Legation at Vienna. The substance of the offer was that the Allies would recognize Murat as King of Naples provided he joined the Coalition. Schinina saw Murat on the 7 October, and was sent back to Naples to talk the matter over with the Queen. On his arrival at Naples, on the 17 October, the envoy acquainted Caroline with the Austrian proposals. He also informed her of the dangerous position of the French army, of the defection of Bavaria, and of the wavering allegiance of the other members of the Confederation.

Caroline hesitated no longer. Without awaiting any instructions from the King, she sent for Mier, and said that she had decided to enter into negotiations with Austria. At a moment when Murat had not yet summoned up courage to abandon the cause of France, Caroline took the decisive step. The transfer of her allegiance was the affair of one brief night. The memory of past benefits, the love due from a sister to a brother, were alike powerless to restrain her. If Murat was treacherous, what epithet is strong enough to brand the conduct of Caroline?

On the 28 October, she informed Mier that she would not send another soldier out of the kingdom, and that her whole army was at the service of Austria, if needed.[10] In eleven days she had done more to ruin the cause of her brother than Murat had accomplished in eight long months. Metternich had good

[9] Caroline to Eugène, 19 August 1813.
[10] Report of Mier to Metternich, 16 December 1813.

reason to be satisfied with his former mistress, although, as yet, he was ignorant of the progress of events at Naples. He was still endeavoring to persuade Murat to join the Coalition, and had sent a man by the name of Pescara [11] to seek an interview with the King at Dresden.

Pescara finally succeeded in finding Murat, and their interview took place on the 23 October, a few days after the battle of Leipzig.[12] As it was dangerous to put anything in writing, Pescara was authorized to offer verbally the following terms:

"Joachim was immediately to abandon the French army, and to send no more troops to the assistance of the Viceroy, while England, who was willing to undertake to obtain Ferdinand's renunciation of the kingdom of Naples, associated herself with Austria in guaranteeing that Murat should remain in independent possession of his kingdom."

Murat, who had paid no heed to Schinina, lent a willing ear to Pescara, for the good reason that Leipzig had intervened to modify his attitude. He immediately saw the Emperor, and asked permission to return to Naples. In the end, Napoleon gave his consent, although with much reluctance.

Before leaving for Naples, Murat answered the Austrian proposal, and gave the despatch in cipher to Pescara, to be transmitted to Metternich through the hands of Cariati. He announced his intention of recruiting his army to eighty thousand men, and of making common cause with the Allies. As the price of his coöperation, he demanded either Sicily, or the Papal States, as an equivalent. The 24 October therefore marked Murat's decisive entrance into the Coalition: to use his own words, "his mind was made up." It was Leipzig that had decided him to turn traitor; but Caroline had made up her mind to betray her brother before the news was received at Naples.

In the confusion that followed the battle of Leipzig, Pescara could not find Cariati, but the document was finally forwarded

[11] He was the secretary of the Neapolitan minister at Munich.

[12] In the attempt to show that his actions were not influenced by the French defeat, Murat subsequently stated that the interview took place on the 16 October. (See Espitalier, 265–266, and 270.)

to Vienna, and, in the absence of Metternich at headquarters, was placed in the hands of his deputy, Hudelist.[13]

Murat left the French headquarters at Erfurt on the evening of the 24 October, and travelled by way of Mayence, Strasbourg, Switzerland, and the Simplon, to Milan, where he arrived on the 31st. In passing through Bâle, he had an interview with Louis, whom he advised "to return to Holland by the aid of the Allies."

At Milan, where for the first time he felt in security, Murat began to put his plans into execution. In order to gain the Papal States, he needed the assistance of France, Austria, and England alike. Taking a leaf from his experiences in Spain, he proposed to secure possession of the strongholds of Italy by pretending to act as the friend, or better still as the lieutenant of the Emperor. He needed Austria, because he could not advance into Northern Italy without soon coming into contact with the Austrian forces, which would be advancing against Eugène. Finally, it was necessary to have an understanding with England in order to leave Naples in security while he was leading his troops into the Papal States.

Murat's first step was to endeavor to undermine the Emperor's confidence in Eugène, whom he had designated for the chief command in Italy. "Sire," he wrote, "I hasten to inform you of my arrival at Milan. . . . The greatest alarm prevails here; the Viceroy's headquarters were at Sacile, and every one is convinced that he will cross the Adige. . . . The Viceroy is falling back very quietly. His retreat is not harassed, and it is averred that he never fires a shot. Bavaria's action has created a deep impression, the more so as it is given out that the King is doing his best to procure a principality for the Viceroy in Italy. Similar reports reach me from Munich. I leave it to Your Majesty to give them their proper value. The spontaneous and undisturbed retreat of your army is not regarded in a favorable light here. I am about to make all the

[13] Hudelist's report to Metternich, Vienna, 3 November 1813. Quoted by Weil, *Op. cit.*

necessary arrangements for putting thirty thousand men in motion, but I must know for certain what you intend to do. I must have the command of the Papal States if I am to march, and, in the event of my effecting a junction with the Viceroy, I must know who is to have the chief command." [14]

From Milan, where he remained only a few hours, Murat proceeded to Florence, where he was received by Élisa and her husband. After a brief stay, he set out for Rome. There, he spent a night, saw Miollis, and then continued his journey. On the 4 November, he reached Naples, "very pleased at being back in his own kingdom again." [15]

In a general order to his army, the King ventured for the first time to use the word "independence." The language is unequivocal, and the purpose obvious:

"From to-day the King is resuming the command of his army. His Majesty wishes it to be made known that the Neapolitan troops who have fought with such glory in the North are on their way home. Never again will the Neapolitan Army find itself obliged to serve in those rigorous climes to which it is unsuited. It will be called upon for service in Italy only, there to fight for the safety and independence of the country." [16]

In a secret interview which he had with Mier, at eleven o'clock on the evening of the 8 November, Murat explained his position very clearly. "My mind is made up," he said; "I mean to throw in my lot with the Allies, to uphold their cause, to play my part in expelling the French from Italy, and I look to have my share in the benefits that will accrue therefrom." When Mier asked whether he intended to enter French territory as a friend or an enemy, Murat replied: "As a friend, and I shall keep up the pretence as long as practicable." [17] A week later, Mier left for Vienna, carrying with him the latest version of Murat's proposals.

[14] Murat to Napoleon. *Archives de la Guerre.*
[15] Mier's report to Metternich, 16 December 1813.
[16] Durant to Bassano.
[17] Mier's report, 16 December 1813.

The King's next step was to secure the good-will of England by formally abandoning the Continental System. By decree of the Council, published on the 11 November, he sanctioned the importation of foreign goods under a hostile or neutral flag, and the exportation of home products under similar conditions.

Having assured the Emperor of his fidelity, convinced Austria that he was her ally, and placated England by raising the Continental blockade, Murat was ready to put his forces in motion. On the 11 November, accordingly, he sent word to Miollis, at Rome, and to Élisa, at Florence, that he proposed to despatch an army of forty thousand men to Northern Italy.

On the 12th, Murat also notified the Emperor of his intention to march to the defence of Upper Italy; ten thousand men had been ordered to Rimini, and thirty thousand were to proceed to Bologna, where he proposed to establish his headquarters. In his opinion, he continued, the only means of assuring success was to arouse the enthusiasm of the nation by proclaiming the union and independence of all Italy.[18]

On the 21st, the troops at last set out for Rome, where their arrival was awaited with impatience. The officers everywhere gave out that they were marching to strike a blow for Italian freedom, not to fight for France. At Rome, the King was looked for by the end of the first week in December, and the Palazzo Farnese had been prepared for his reception. Murat was about to take his departure, on the 2 December, when he was presented with a despatch of the gravest importance, from Metternich to the Austrian Embassy at Naples. This document stated that the English Government had obtained from King Ferdinand a formal renunciation of the Kingdom of Naples, and had agreed to leave Neapolitan matters entirely in the hands of Austria; but that England had now withdrawn her previous offers, in view of Murat's joining the Grand Army, and his active part in the Saxon compaign.

This despatch brought Murat to a standstill. Further conferences with the Austrian envoy, however, satisfied the King that Metternich was friendly, and that the integrity of his

[18] Caulaincourt's report to the Emperor, Paris, 27 November 1813.

kingdom was assured. From that moment, he openly showed his disdain of France, and his attitude toward the Empire became more arrogant than ever. He wrote to Élisa and to Miollis in terms that defy comment. To both he gave instructions to take no more orders from the Viceroy.

For a time, Murat succeeded in hoodwinking Napoleon. "My son," he wrote Eugène on the 3 November from Mayence, "the King of Naples tells me that he will shortly be at Bologna with thirty thousand men. Work with him as well as you possibly can. . . . Show him every consideration, so that we may turn his assistance to the best account. It is a great relief to me that, thanks to his army, I shall have nothing more to fear as regards Italy." [19]

But evidences of Murat's defection soon began to reach the Emperor from every side. Eugène, Élisa, Miollis, Norvins, and Durant, all united in a chorus of accusation, and Napoleon could not fail to be impressed. Nevertheless, as a matter of policy, he pretended for a time to believe in the King's fidelity. On the 4 December, he instructed Caulaincourt to write Durant: "Do not appear to harbor the slightest doubt regarding the King's loyalty, and display more confidence than you may in reality entertain."

But the Emperor was finally forced to abandon all hope of Murat's loyalty. On the 25 December, he wrote Élisa: "If the King declares war on us, it is not yet all over with France, and if any one could meditate so base an act of treason as that, it would assuredly recoil on its author's head. I rely on your firmness of character in this crisis. Let the King imprison you, let him slay you, but suffer no disloyalty to the nation."

In a last effort to retain the allegiance of his brother-in-law, Napoleon sent Fouché to Naples. On receiving the Emperor's instructions at Bologna, on the 21 November, Fouché set out at once for Naples, where he arrived on the night of the 30th. The following morning he saw Murat, and then paid his respects to the Queen. Caroline said to him: "You come

[19] Corresp., 20861.

too late. The King's heart is with the Emperor, but his imagination has been led astray." With his usual duplicity, Murat, also, claimed that his heart was with the Emperor, but he could not act openly without imperiling his country's safety. "The Emperor must rely on me," he declared.

Fouché claims that he did his best to restrain Murat, but it is impossible to place any confidence in his statements. From Florence, on the 12 January 1814, he wrote Caulaincourt: "If the King of Naples had listened to me, he would be laying down the law to the Coalition, instead of being compelled to take his orders from them. Moreover, he would have achieved a lofty ambition and fulfilled his duty to his Emperor and the land of his birth."

Having seen the King and Queen every day during his stay, Fouché left Naples on the 17 December, richer by a gift of 170,000 francs as a token of gratitude from Murat for his counsels.

Profiting by the advice which Fouché had given him, on the 21 December Murat addressed to the Emperor one of his characteristic letters, begging Napoleon to crown his glorious career by giving peace to Europe. "Sire, all my life long I shall love you. The affection which I entertain for Your Majesty can never be changed by political events."

This letter Murat followed up with an exhaustive apologia, explaining his course of action. To his communication he added a postscript which contained much good advice:

"Sire, in the name of all you hold dearest in the world, carry resistance no further. Make peace, peace at any price. Only gain time and you will have gained all. Your genius and time will do the rest. If you turn a deaf ear to the prayers of your subjects, of your friends, you will bring yourself and all of us to ruin. . . ."

But this counsel of Murat's, whether sincere or not, was received too late; it was no longer in Napoleon's power to follow it. Therefore it was that he sent no reply to Murat's letter.

CHAPTER FIFTY-FOUR

JANUARY — MAY 1814

END OF MURAT'S DREAM

Neipperg at Naples — Terms of the Austrian Alliance — The Treaty Signed — Caroline Mainly Responsible — The Grave Consequences — Napoleon's Indignation — Reproaches of Madame — Murat's Letter to Napoleon — He Leaves for Rome — Caroline Made Regent — Murat's Proclamation — Austria Fails to Ratify — New Terms Proposed — Murat's Awakening — He Signs the New Treaty — He Holds Italy South of the Po — Overtures to the Emperor — Napoleon Authorizes Eugène to Sign a Treaty with Murat — Bentinck Dictates to the King — Negotiations Broken Off by Eugène — His Grave Responsibility — Murat's Despair — Caroline Precipitates a Rupture with France — She Lays Down the Law to Joachim — Wilson's Visit to the King — Joachim's Remarkable Costume — Murat Forced to Yield on All Points — His Return to Naples

ON THE 30 December 1813, there arrived at Naples General Comte de Neipperg. He was the bearer of a letter to Murat from the Emperor Francis, offering a treaty of alliance between Austria and Naples.

At that date the Neapolitan troops had overrun, in Upper Italy, most of the territory which the King proposed to take for his own. Rome, Florence, and Bologna were in his hands, and other forces were advancing northward to secure the road running through Ancona, Rimini, and Ravenna. Nevertheless, Murat still professed to be the ally of France, when he discussed the Austrian proposals with Neipperg the first week in January.

The terms which the Austrian envoy was authorized to offer were extremely liberal: Joachim was to be recognized as King of Naples and his throne guaranteed by Austria; Ferdinand was to be induced, if necessary by force, to renounce his claim to Naples; and, lastly, as an equivalent for Sicily, Murat was

to receive another parcel of territory, with at least a half a million souls.

The whole matter was virtually settled on the third day of January, and Gallo went to work with Neipperg the following day to arrange the questions of form and detail. At that moment, most inopportunely, there appeared on the scene Bentinck's secretary, James Graham, who displayed grave doubts of Austria's sincerity, and refused to sign even an armistice on behalf of Great Britain. Although postponed at least two days by Graham's appearance, the treaty was signed on the night of the 7–8 January. It provided for an offensive and defensive alliance between Austria and Naples, and assured Murat, when peace was signed, "a satisfactory military frontier," which the King took for granted was to be the river Po. This date therefore marks the entrance of Murat into that odious and fatal covenant which was destined to hurry him to his doom. But justice demands that all the guilt should not be heaped upon his head, for the resolute Caroline was far more to be blamed than her weak consort. From the moment of Murat's return, she had not ceased to urge him to cast in his lot with Austria. The Frenchmen, Durant and Pérignon; the Austrians, Mier, Metternich, and Neipperg; the English, Graham and Aberdeen: all point with one accord to Caroline as the instigator of the treachery of the Court of Naples. On the 9 January, Durant wrote: "The Queen regards the Austrian alliance as her own particular handiwork." Mier said: "The Queen is perfect. She has manifested on this occasion a greater strength of character than any one deemed she possessed." When Pérignon hotly reproached the King for signing the treaty, Murat scarcely replied at all. Then, turning to the Queen, he cried: "And you, Madame, you, the Emperor's sister, you will of course depart with the French army!" With a smile, and a little curtsy to her husband, Caroline replied: "Monsieur le Maréchal, you ought to know that a woman's duty is to obey her lord."

Chancellor Pasquier puts the best possible aspect on the treason of Murat and Caroline, when he writes that neither one

of them foresaw the complete downfall of Napoleon. "They were aware of the terms of Frankfort," he says, "and they may have thought that the course they took would have only the consequences of forcing him to accept these propositions: to be content with being Emperor of the French, with the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, as the limits of his Empire. However this may be, History will say that they, more than any one else, at this last moment contributed to the entire ruin of Napoleon."[1]

On the morning following the signature of the treaty, Murat, with the Queen by his side, traversed in an open carriage the principal streets of the capital. The news of the treaty had been spread broadcast by the friends of Caroline, and the sovereigns were received with the acclamations so dear to the heart of Murat. That evening they attended the Grand-Théâtre, where they had in the royal box Comte de Neipperg, the ambassador extraordinary of Austria, who shared with the sovereigns the public applause.

The news of the treason of Murat was not long in reaching the Emperor, who was not entirely surprised, as the recent letters of his brother-in-law had led him to expect something of the kind. But when he knew the full extent of the treachery, he cried: "Murat, my brother-in-law, in open treason! I was well aware that he was wrong-headed, but I believed that he loved me. It is his wife who is the cause of his defection. Caroline! My sister! Murat causes his guns to be fired on the French troops! It is abominable! It is odious! He is the Bernadotte of the South!"[2]

It will be noted that Napoleon was not deceived, and that he held his sister responsible for the treason of Murat. Nevertheless he made one last attempt to bring her back to the path of honor and of duty. To Joseph, he said: "Write the Queen regarding her ingratitude, which nothing can justify, and which revolts even the Allies. Say to her that, as there has not yet been any conflict between the French and the Neapolitan troops,

[1] Pasquier, 2 *Mémoires,* 137. [2] Bausset, 2 *Mémoires,* 259.

all may still be arranged, but there is not a moment to be lost." [3]

To Fouché, another traitor, of whose complicity in this affair he was not yet aware, he wrote: "The conduct of the King of Naples is infamous, and for that of the Queen there is no name. I hope to live long enough to avenge myself and France for such an outrage, and for such frightful ingratitude."

To anticipate somewhat the course of events, it may be stated that, after her treason, the relations of Caroline with her family were much strained. Madame Mère, especially, never forgave either Caroline or her husband. To every attempt on their part to become reconciled with her, Madame replied that she had a horror of traitors and of treason. When Caroline stated that it was not her fault, as she was constrained by her husband, Madame said: "If you could not command him, you should have fought him. It was only over your dead body that your husband should have stabbed your brother, your benefactor, your master." [4]

Having signed the treaty with Austria, Murat was impatient to take possession in person of the banks of the Po, which he already considered his natural frontier; but he was reluctant to leave Naples until he received an assurance from Bentinck regarding England's attitude. In the meantime he endeavored to persuade Miollis to give him possession of the castle of San Angelo, at Rome, and of Élisa to allow his troops to occupy the strongholds of Tuscany; but he failed in both instances.

On the 15 January, he finally found courage to inform the Emperor of his negotiations with Austria. As stated in his letter, the determining factors in his course had been, first, the silence of the Emperor, and secondly, Napoleon's message to the Senate, in which he said: "Peace and the deliverance of our country should be our battle-cry. We must no longer think of winning back our conquests." This final clause Murat regarded as a statement that the Emperor proposed to abandon Italy to her fate.

In answer to the charge of Napoleon's silence, we have his

[3] Méneval, 3 *Mémoires*, 192. [4] 3 *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, 25.

own comments: "What would you have me say to a madman? . . . What would be the good of it? He is bereft of his senses; he is hurrying to his doom." [5] As to the second point, Napoleon's address to the Senate, Murat's argument is refuted by an examination of the dates. The Emperor's speech, published in the *Moniteur* of the 31 December, could not have reached Naples before the 10 January, two days after the treaty was signed.

To combat Murat, Napoleon at once took two decisive steps: (1) he ordered the Pope sent back to Rome, and (2) he recalled all the French at Naples.

On the 23 January, word finally came from Bentinck that he would sail for Naples on the 27th, and would arrange matters on his arrival. Murat could now start with an easy mind, and he set out for Rome at five o'clock the same evening.

Joachim reached Rome on the 24th and made a triumphal entry into the city, which was *en fête* to receive him. According to a report published in the *Monitore* of the Two Sicilies, he went at once to visit the King of Spain, who received him at the foot of his staircase, and immediately returned his visit.[6]

On leaving Naples, Joachim had conferred the regency on Caroline, who was conducting the government with her usual ability. "The Queen," wrote Mier, "will be much better able to hold her own than the King, and will allow nothing to interfere with the due discharge of the obligations entered into with Austria." [7]

In a few days, Caroline sent Murat the armistice with England, duly signed, and on the 20th the *Monitore* published the good news to all Naples. Durant had taken his departure five days before.

[5] La Besnardière to Talleyrand, Vienna, 12 December 1814. French Archives.

[6] It is impossible to conjecture who is meant by the "King of Spain," as Joseph was then at Paris, and Ferdinand at Valençay, in France.

[7] Mier to Metternich. Cited by M. Weil.

Murat left Rome on the 28th, and arrived at Ancona on the 30th. Here he issued a flaming proclamation to his troops — not in the name of Joachim-Napoleon, a vassal of the French Empire, but of Joachim, King of Naples, soon to be King of Italy:

Soldiers, so long as it was possible for me to believe that the Emperor Napoleon was fighting to bring peace and glory to France I fought loyally at his side; but now I can deceive myself no longer; I know that the Emperor's sole desire is war.

I should be doing an injury to the land of my birth, to my Kingdom, and to you, did I not immediately dissociate my troops from his and join the Allies, whose lofty aim it is to restore freedom to the nations, and to reëstablish the thrones of Europe in all their former dignity.

I am well aware that attempts are being made to beguile the patriotism of the Frenchmen in my army by voicing false ideas of honor and loyalty; as if there were aught of honor and loyalty in subjecting the world to Napoleon's mad ambition!

Soldiers, there are now but two banners in Europe. On the one you may read *Religion, Morality, Justice, Moderation, Law, Peace,* and *Happiness.* Upon the other, *Persecution, Insincerity, Tyranny, War,* and *Sorrow* in every home.

Make your choice between them.

JOACHIM

Having issued this proclamation, Murat pursued his way in triumph to Bologna, where he was received with cries of *Vive le roi d'Italie!* But he was soon to have a rude awakening. On the 3 February, Mier arrived from Naples, with the news that Austria had failed to ratify the treaty. He also communicated Metternich's despatch from Bâle, under date of 23 January. England demanded that Murat should formally renounce all claim on Sicily, and should undertake to procure Ferdinand an indemnity for the loss of Naples; also that the territorial increase to be granted Murat should be clearly defined. It was stated further that the views of the Allies " regarding the future reconstruction of Italy involved the reinstatement of the Holy Father in the States of the Church, of the Grand

Duke of Würzburg in Tuscany, of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, and of the House of Este in their hereditary possessions."[8]

Murat's short hour of triumph was over! He realized how utterly he had been deceived; and he dimly foresaw the doom that was to overtake him for his betrayal of the Emperor and his native land. "The kingdom that was to stretch from Messina to the Po; all the gorgeous dreams that for three years had glittered so alluringly before his eyes, dreams for which he had deserted his Emperor and betrayed the land of his birth, where were they now? Metternich and Castlereagh had shattered them at a blow."[9]

Balked of his prey, realizing that he had played the traitor to no purpose, Murat was wild with rage. On the 10 February, Gallo arrived, with another piece of bad news: Bentinck had absolutely refused to conclude a treaty of peace. This last blow was too much for Joachim, and he had one of his old attacks of fever.

On the 12th, he finally decided to yield to the inevitable, and that night a second treaty was signed which placed his fate absolutely in the hands of Austria. In this document, Murat practically renounced all claims to the throne of Italy. In his disappointment, he turned once more to Napoleon, and wrote Eugène that he would commit no hostile act without giving due warning. "Remember me to the Emperor, my dear Eugène," he said; "tell him of my grief — I weep as I pen these words."

When the Austrians, relying on Murat's assistance, attacked Eugène by the Mincio, no Neapolitan troops came to their support, and the Viceroy gained a partial success. On the 19th, Eugène sent Murat the French journals, giving an account of the Emperor's victories at Champaubert and Montmirail, and

[8] The despatch of Metternich can no longer be found in the Austrian Archives, but an idea of its purport can be obtained from Mier's letters, and other collateral documents. (See Espitalier, 407.)

[9] Espitalier, 411.

friendly relations were resumed. So firm was the truce that Murat sent word to Eugène of his slightest movement.

In Northern Italy, the Neapolitan troops at this time were in possession of the Papal States, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Only the French fortresses still held out, and now, through a secret arrangement between Fouché and Murat, these were to be surrendered. Ancona was given over on the 18th, and the city of Leghorn on the 19th. Finally, Fouché signed the treaty of Lucca, which gave Murat possession of the castle of San Angelo, and Civita Vecchia. By the morning of the 25 February, Joachim held all Italy south of the Po. He was naturally elated, but his possession was destined to be of very short duration.

Murat now considered that his measures for securing the union of Italy were sufficiently advanced to warrant a direct appeal to the Emperor, and on the last day of February he wrote Napoleon the following letter:

Sire, Your Majesty is beset by dangers. France is threatened in her very capital, and I am not suffered to die with you. I who love you seem to be your foe. Sire, one word from you and I sacrifice my family and my subjects. Ruin will be my lot, but what matter. . . . The tears which fill my eyes forbid me to continue. . . . By this letter I resign my future wholly into your hands. My life is yours. Could you but see me, could you but form an idea of the grief which for two months I have suffered, you would have pity on me. Love me till the end: never was I worthier of your affection. Your friend till death.[10]

This letter was only introductory to a demand, which Murat requested Eugène to transmit to the Emperor, for the division of Italy into two States, with the Po as a boundary line; and the recognition of Joachim as King of Italy.

It was in one of the darkest hours of the Campaign of France that Napoleon received Fouché's letters giving proofs of the

[10] This letter bears no date, but it was probably written on the 28 February 1814.

"hideous ingratitude" of Caroline and her husband. That day (13 February) he directed Caulaincourt to give the Neapolitan ambassador his passports, and to call home all the French in Naples.

On the 12 March, the Emperor received Murat's letter, and the draft of the proposed treaty forwarded by Eugène. He at once wrote the Viceroy: "You regard the idea as madness. Never mind! Send an agent to this most extraordinary of traitors and make a treaty with him in my name. Leave Piedmont and Genoa alone, and split up the rest of Italy into two kingdoms. Arrange that the treaty shall be kept secret until the Austrians have been cleared out of the country, and that twenty-four hours after it has been signed the King shall declare for France and attack the Austrians. You may go as far as you like in this direction. . . . No effort should be spared to secure the support of the Neapolitans."

In the meantime, considerable friction had arisen between Eugène and Murat, and the situation had been further complicated by the arrival on the scene of Lord William Bentinck. He had left Palermo on the 28 February, arrived in Naples on the 2 March, and at Leghorn on the 8th. He immediately protested against the occupation of Tuscany by Murat, and announced his intention of taking the matter up with the King. On the 16th, he met Murat at Reggio, and laid down the law to him. Murat came from the interview boiling with rage. He vowed that he would rather lose his crown than be dictated to by this Englishman.

Once more Joachim turned to the French, and sent an envoy to see Eugène. His negotiations with the Viceroy at this time, as well as a letter he wrote to Fouché on the 18 March, furnish evidence of his sincere desire to throw off the yoke of Austria and England.

By a singular coincidence, Murat's envoy and Napoleon's letter reached Eugène on the same day, and the Viceroy wrote the King that he was empowered by the Emperor to come to an arrangement; he therefore begged Murat to appoint an agent to discuss the terms. The instructions drawn up by

Eugène for the guidance of his envoy were an amplification of the terms outlined by the Emperor in his letter.[11]

Murat's instructions to his envoy, Carascosa, have survived only in a fragmentary form, but they provided for an offensive and defensive alliance, and an undertaking to combine the two armies for the purpose of expelling the Austrian forces from Italy.

A conference was held between the two envoys, but the negotiations were broken off when Eugène learned of the extent of Murat's demands. This action of the Viceroy's was without excuse, and it simply drove Murat back into the enemy's camp. With that lofty magnanimity which so often characterized his actions, Napoleon had given the Viceroy carte blanche, and Eugène had no justification for haggling. Although it is true that, even if Eugène had come to terms with Murat at this time, it was too late to have had any effect on the course of events, it is none the less true that the Viceroy failed to carry out the Emperor's orders, and he alone was responsible for Murat's final decision to throw in his lot with the enemies of France.

Murat's affairs were now in desperate straits, and he hardly knew which way to turn. His double-dealings were known alike to the French, the Austrians, and the English, and no one longer had any confidence in him. His downfall was near at hand.

While Joachim was pursuing his tortuous course in Northern Italy, at Naples Caroline had taken active steps to complete the rupture with France. She had no sympathy with her husband's insane ambition to govern a united Italy, but was content to retain her Neapolitan crown. On the 12 February she broke off all relations with France, and ordered carried out whatever measures were necessitated by a state of war. In her letters to Joachim she urged him to attack the Viceroy; and when she learned that the King was negotiating with the Emperor she sent two messengers to his headquarters with verbal and written remonstrances of the most forcible character. If the King

[11] See Eugène's instructions to Zucchi, quoted by M. Weil, *Op. cit.*

persisted in his policy of double-dealing, she would sever her destiny from his entirely, and take whatever measures she might deem to be for the true interests of the Kingdom.

After the interview with Murat at Reggio, Bentinck considered it would be useless to renew the discussion, so he proceeded to the Austrian headquarters at Verona. After talking over the situation with Marshal Bellegarde, he sent Wilson to see Murat and try to arrive at some settlement of the question.

When Wilson saw Murat at Bologna he was much struck with the King's manners and appearance: "Hair curled in Roman coiffure — two ringlets, or what in Paris are called *pensées,* dependent on each shoulder. Blue uniform coat, red pantaloons, yellow shoes, with spurs, sword with three pictures in the handle. His countenance martial, his manners soft, his conversation easy and intelligent." Wilson dined with the King; and considered the banquet in excellent taste. He also attended a ball, and thought the King's manners, when dancing, very attractive and very simple.

Finally, a conference of the Ministers of the various Powers was held at Bologna, at which it was decided that Murat was to retain the administration of Tuscany, except the cities of Leghorn, Pisa, and Viareggio, which were to be turned over to Bentinck. Murat was forced to be resigned to this concession to his amour-propre, and he yielded on every other point. He expressed his readiness to do anything the Austrian marshal wished: to turn over his army to him, to serve under him, or to lead his troops back to Naples. As usual in a crisis, he had utterly lost his *moral,* and did not care what happened to him.

To add to Murat's discomfiture, he now learned that the Pope was on his way back to Rome. From the day that Pius passed the Italian frontier, his journey was one long triumphal progress. At Bologna, he met Bentinck, who placed unlimited funds at his disposal; there too he saw Murat, whom he scarcely deigned to notice.

At last came the final catastrophe: Paris was taken; the Emperor had abdicated, and was on his way to Elba. Pius was again back in Rome; the Austrians were in possession of

POPE PIUS VII

Modena; Tuscany was to be returned to Ferdinand, the Duke of Würzburg. On the 29 April, Joachim was directed to return to Naples.

On the 2 May, in civilian dress, Joachim drove through the streets of his capital in an open carriage with Caroline by his side. The following day, Napoleon arrived at the island of Elba.

CHAPTER FIFTY-FIVE

JANUARY — APRIL 1814

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

Napoleon's Choice of Joseph Inevitable — Louis and Jérôme Not Available — Joseph's Difficult Task — He Opposes the Departure of the Empress — Napoleon's Reply — The Terms of Peace Illusory — Napoleon Intractable — He Refuses to Employ Louis and Jérôme — The Campaign of France — Council of the Regency — Decision to Have the Empress Leave Paris — The Final Blow to the Dynasty — Joseph's Neglect to Send Away the Ministers — Talleyrand Evades the Order to Leave — Departures of the Family — Hortense Joins Joséphine at Navarre — Joseph Surrenders the Capital and Departs — Formation of a Provisional Government — Napoleon Advises the Family to Disperse — They Discuss Their Policy — Napoleon Attempts Suicide — He Fails to See Marie Walewska — His Letter to Her — His Farewell to the Old Guard

ON THE 10 January, the Emperor had selected Joseph for his lieutenant general, and at the same date the King had resumed his rank of premier prince and grand elector. After the five years of his brother's disastrous reign in Spain, Napoleon had been reluctant to make this appointment, but it was the inevitable consequence of the Imperial Constitution which he had framed, of the law of heredity which he had adopted, and of the Family Spirit which governed his actions. Under the circumstances, he really had no choice in the matter. Of the other grand dignitaries of the Empire then at Paris, Cambacérès was in his dotage, Lebrun was too ill to serve, and he had no confidence in Talleyrand. Besides, in such a crisis, no dignitary, no minister, no marshal could adequately represent the Emperor. Therefore, as in 1805, Napoleon was forced to turn to his brothers, and Joseph, the eldest, was the only one who had renounced his royal pretensions, and taken his stand beside the Throne, to repel the invasion.

Louis had indeed consented to remain in France, but he had refused "to receive either rank, or appanage, or titles," which would prevent him from rushing to Holland when the call came. He resided with his mother; saw his children frequently, his brothers occasionally, and his wife never. He appeared only twice at the Tuileries, on the 10 January, and again on the 23d, the eve of the Emperor's departure for the campaign. Besides, in his own words, "he was in a deplorable state of health, and he had nearly lost the use of all his limbs; he had vainly tried to mount a horse, and could not stand upright any length of time."

In this state, his sole consolations were religion and letters: he had become very devout, and he was arranging for the publication of a revised edition of his chef-d'œuvre, *Marie,* which was to appear after the conclusion of peace.

As for Jérôme, he had not abdicated his throne; and he had continued to reside with his wife, his mistresses, and his little Court, at Compiègne. On the 11 January, despite the repeated injunctions of the Emperor, he went with Catherine to take possession of Stains. The reason for this change, as given by Catherine in a letter to her father, was that "the Château, very large, very vast, being heated only by fireplaces, could not be habitable in a cold of ten to twelve degrees, without speaking of the enormous expenses of this residence." Thus insolently defied, the Emperor, at such a moment, could do nothing but keep silent. On the 23d, the same day that Napoleon received Louis, Jérôme also came to Paris, and solicited an audience; but the Emperor refused to see him, and sent him word to return to Stains.

Notwithstanding his selection of Joseph, the Emperor left Paris without making the appointment official, and it was not until the 28 January, at Saint-Dizier, that he signed the decree by which "his well-loved brother, King Joseph, is named his lieutenant general." In this quality, Joseph was to command the National Guard of Paris; the troops of the First Military Division; and the Imperial Guard, under the orders of the Regent. He was to take all measures necessary for the defence of the capital and its environs.

The task which the Emperor had assigned to Joseph was one which he himself alone was competent to fulfill, and, as usual, he had made the work even more difficult by binding the hands of his lieutenant. If he had endeavored to direct everything from Moscow, how much more from Nogent or from Meaux? Napoleon's jealousy of his power did not permit him to abandon the smallest part to the Regent — much less to Joseph.

Under the circumstances, Joseph did all that he could. He displayed considerable energy, and, if he did not accomplish great results, he at least demonstrated his good-will. He even ventured at times to give advice to the Emperor, and his suggestions were not devoid of merit. Thus, he tried to convince Napoleon of the necessity of leaving some kind of a provisional government at Paris, in case the Empress and the ministers were forced to abandon the capital. But, on every occasion, the Emperor thrust the question aside, and refused to formulate any plan. He seemed unwilling to admit that ultimate defeat was at least possible, even if not probable. He turned down the project of a governmental commission, which might perhaps have saved his dynasty.

Before leaving Paris, Napoleon had given orders that the Empress must leave in case the capital was menaced. It therefore required considerable courage on the part of Joseph to write his brother on the 7 February:

"I devoutly pray that the departure of the Empress may not take place. We cannot avoid the conclusion that the consternation and despair of the people may have sad and unfortunate results. I think, with all the persons whose opinion is of value, that we should make many sacrifices before coming to this last resort. The men attached to Your Majesty's government fear that the departure of the Empress may deliver the people of the capital to despair, and give a capital and an empire to the Bourbons."

But, upon this point, Napoleon was intractable. He was much "surprised" at Joseph's letter. "I admit," he said, "that your letter has hurt me, because I see no foundation for your ideas." His letter, which is full of repetitions, and almost

incoherent, shows the anguish of his heart, the disorder of his mind:

"Should Paris be taken, I shall no longer continue to live. . . . I have ordered you to do all that is needful to safeguard the Empress, the King of Rome, and our family. . . . If Talleyrand thinks that the Empress should in any case remain in Paris, this advice is secret treachery. Do not trust him. For sixteen years I have been associated with him, and have given him many favors. But, now that Fortune has forsaken us, nothing is more certain than that he is the greatest enemy of our House. Take my advice to heart. I understand events better than the young people. . . . For God's sake do not allow the Empress and the King to fall into the hands of the enemy! Austria would then lose interest in the war, and would take the Empress to Vienna. England and Russia would make the French people see things from their point of view, and our cause would be lost. . . . So long as I live, I must be obeyed. If I die, my reigning son, and his mother, the Regent, must not allow themselves to be taken, were it only for the honor of France . . . I would rather know that my son had been killed than that he was being brought up in Vienna as an Austrian prince. . . ."

Napoleon has only one idea: that the Empress and his son must not fall into the hands of the enemy. He returns to this thought five times in the course of his letter.[1]

This letter is full of despair, but another to Joseph breathes the spirit of defiance: "You have been talking to my wife about the Bourbons, but you should avoid such topics. I have no wish to take shelter behind my wife. . . . I have never tried to win the applause of the Parisians, for I am no stage puppet." And he ends with the words, "Je vous embrasse!"

It is many years since he has written thus to any of his brothers — in fact, not since the days of Marengo. He has

[1] It may be stated that there are in existence four versions of this letter: (1) the *Correspondance;* (2) the *Mémoires du roi Joseph* (X, 27); (3) *Supplément à la Correspondance* (p. 200); and (4) *Les Rois frères de Napoléon 1er* (p. 66). Some phrases are different in the four versions. (See 9 Masson, 380–381, note.)

recovered his equanimity, and is once more full of courage. The next day he writes Savary: "They shall learn that I am the man of Wagram and Austerlitz! I will have no intrigues in the State, . . . I want no tribunes of the people! I myself am the great tribune!"

This closed the debate. It was treason to have the Empress remain in Paris if the capital were menaced. No Commission could be formed, to treat with the enemy, in case the Government departed. These orders practically sealed the fate of the dynasty!

Like Murat, and many others, Joseph seems to have shared the popular illusion that peace depended solely on the will of the Emperor: that Napoleon had only to accept the bases of the famous propositions of Frankfort. But these offers were only a delusion and a snare: the Allies had no intention of making peace with the Emperor Napoleon! On this point the evidence of M. Pasquier is absolutely conclusive. "I remain convinced," he writes, "that in presenting them [the terms of peace], the best advised had the conviction that he could not subscribe to them, and only put them forward to obtain a refusal. *They never desired anything but the absolute ruin of Napoleon, whose existence seemed to them incompatible with a solid peace in Europe.*" [2]

The Allies were in no doubts regarding the genius and the power of Napoleon. If they made peace with him, even on the basis of the former limits of France under the Bourbons, on the execution of the treaty all the prisoners, and all the troops besieged in Germany, would return; also all of the French soldiers in Italy. Joining these forces to those under his immediate orders, and recalling the armies of Soult and Suchet on the Spanish frontier, Napoleon would have under his command a new Grand Army of half a million men, all veteran troops. How long would it take him to recover all that he had lost? This result was so evident that it must have been foreseen by the statesmen of the Coalition.

[2] 2 Pasquier, 173. The italics are ours. (See also 9 Masson, 392–393.)

But Joseph was reluctant to abandon his idea. On the 9 February, he wrote his brother: "Events are stronger than men, Sire; and when that is well demonstrated, it seems to me that the true glory is to conserve what one can of his subjects and his territory." On the 11th, he wrote again, to say that the most devoted servants of His Majesty were of the opinion that, with peace, the genius of the Emperor would soon find means to reëstablish his affairs.

These exhortations were not badly received by the Emperor, who replied that he was prepared to accept even the worst conditions: "He owed that sacrifice of his amour-propre to his family and his people." But, after his victories, Napoleon changed his mind: he withdrew the carte blanche which he had given Caulaincourt, and insisted upon the terms of Frankfort, that is to say, the natural frontiers of France.

In these discussions, Joseph had given proofs of his good-will, his common-sense, and of a certain moral courage: in a word, he had done his best to be useful. It is impossible to say as much of Louis and Jérôme. On the 5 February, Joseph proposed to the Emperor the idea of leaving Louis in Paris as a kind of Imperial Commissioner, in case it were necessary for the Government to depart. He also suggested the same thought to Louis, who replied in a "long letter," which Joseph forwarded to the Emperor. On the 8th, Napoleon answered: "As for Louis, I think that he should follow you; his last letter proves to me that his head is too weak, and he would do us too much harm."

Jérôme, who was tired of Stains, where also he did not feel safe, came to Paris the first of February, with Catherine, and took up his residence in the hôtel of Cardinal Fesch. From there he wrote to the Empress to request to be received at the Tuileries, with the Queen; but Marie-Louise, under orders from the Emperor, refused to see them. Then, through Joseph, Jérôme asked the Emperor to assign him to some active service. Napoleon at first made no reply, but finally, on the 21 February, he announced his decision: like his brother, Jérôme could as-

sume the uniform of the grenadiers of the Imperial Guard; he was to dismiss all the members of the Westphalian household; he was to name, for the approval of the Emperor, not to exceed from four to seven aides de camp, écuyers, and chamberlains, all French. He could then be received by the Empress, and he and the Queen could bear their royal titles. He could report to headquarters, whence it was the intention of the Emperor to send him to Lyon, to take command of the city and the troops, provided he gave his promise to have no royal train, to bivouac with his men, and to be always at the front.

One would think that Jérôme would have seized this opportunity to be of some use to his brother and his country. Not at all! He discussed and haggled; he would not dismiss his Court; he would accept, in his command, no orders except from the Emperor. This at once ended the matter, as it should have done. He abandoned the cause of France, and awaited the call of Westphalia. "In the meantime, we are living here very quietly," wrote Catherine to her father. This explains everything!

It does not come within the scope of this work to relate again the story of the marvellous Campaign of France, the finest that Napoleon ever conducted. With his little army of fifty thousand men, he defeated and drove back in turn the three armies of the Allies, each of which far outnumbered his own. At the end of six weeks, the enemy was no nearer Paris than at the opening of the campaign. Then Napoleon decided to pass in the rear of the allied forces and cut their lines of communication, in the expectation that they would follow him and be drawn away from Paris. But this manœuvre failed, and resulted in his fall within a few days. The Allies decided to cut loose from their bases and march directly on the capital.

When the Emperor learned of this movement, he started post haste for Paris, leaving his army to follow him by forced marches. Late on the evening of the 30 March, when about halfway between Fontainebleau and Paris, he heard of the capitulation of the city that morning. He passed that night

in the post-house at Juvisy, and at daybreak returned to Fontainebleau.

On the 28 March, when Marmont and Mortier arrived at Paris, closely followed by the masses of the allied armies, Joseph was forced to assume the grave responsibility of sending away the Empress and the King of Rome. Although he had the formal orders of the Emperor on the subject, he was unwilling to act without referring the matter to the Council of the Regency. The three grand dignitaries, Cambacérès, Lebrun, and Talleyrand; the president of the Senate, Lacépède; the grand-judge, Molé; and all of the ministers, except Maret and Caulaincourt, who were absent from Paris, assembled that evening at the Tuileries under the presidency of the Empress.

The Minister of War, Clarke, who spoke first, gave a clear résumé of the situation, pointing out the difficulty, with a force of less than fifty thousand men, of offering any prolonged resistance to the allied armies. But his words did not shake the determination of the members of the Council to remain. Talleyrand, who still had the secret thought of governing during the minority of Napoleon the Second, was of the general opinion. He declared that only the presence of the Empress at Paris could avert a revolution.[3]

A vote being called for, all of the members, except Clarke, who favored a retreat, and Joseph, who remained silent, were against the departure of the Empress.[4]

Then Joseph produced the letter of the Emperor, dated the 16 March, which contained the formal order to have the Empress and her son leave if the capital were menaced. "Remember," wrote Napoleon, "that I would rather know that my son was in the Seine than in the hands of the enemies of France."[5] Joseph might have read several other letters to the same effect, but this one was enough. As a matter of form, another vote was taken, and it was decided that the Empress should leave in the morning for Rambouillet.

[3] 6 Rovigo, 366–371; 4 Mollien, 130: cited by Houssaye, 458.
[4] Rovigo, *Ibid;* 2 Méneval, 48.
[5] Corresp., 21497.

Contrary to the express commands of the Emperor, it was decided further that the ministers and the dignitaries, except Cambacérès, who accompanied the Empress, should remain at Paris with Joseph, until he gave the order for their departure.

When the meeting broke up, at two o'clock in the morning, nearly all the ministers stopped in the waiting-room for a few last words. An eye-witness has stated that, in separating, each one of the ministers said "adieu" to his colleagues, so well-persuaded were they, one and all, that this was the last act of the Imperial Government. In parting from Rovigo, Talleyrand said: "Quelle chute dans l'histoire! Donner son nom à des aventures au lieu de le donner à son siècle!" Then he added: "But it is not incumbent on every one to let himself be swallowed up in the ruins of this edifice."[6] No one saw more clearly than this wily diplomat that the Empire was lost. The Prince de Bénévent had decided to join the Royal party!

It is difficult to explain or excuse the neglect of Joseph to carry out the second part of the Emperor's instructions, to have all of the principal officers of the Government leave Paris with the Empress. In his letter of the 16 March, Napoleon expressly mentioned twenty-six persons: the three dignitaries present at Paris, Cambacérès, Lebrun, and Talleyrand; the ten ministers, including all but Bassano and Caulaincourt, who were absent; the six officers of the Senate; the three presidents of the Council of State; and the four grand officers of the Crown.

It was not until the 30 March, twenty-four hours after the departure of the Empress, when the enemy was already at the gates of Paris, and any effort of coercion was impossible, that Joseph wrote this courteous and mild letter to Lebrun: "Monsieur l'architrésorier, I think that it is proper for the grand dignitaries to retire from Paris, by the same road as the Empress, the route to Chartres. Kindly notify the other grand dignitaries." As Cambacérès had accompanied the Empress, the "other grand dignitaries" could apply only to one man, and that was Talleyrand, of whom Napoleon had written on

[6] Rovigo, *Op. cit.*

PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND–PERIGORD

the 8 February: "Beware of that man, . . . he is the greatest enemy of our House."

To cause Talleyrand to leave, if necessary by force, was the first duty of Joseph. In neglecting this, he dealt the final fatal blow to the declining fortunes of the Imperial dynasty.

The manner in which Talleyrand evaded the order to follow the Empress is related by M. Pasquier. "At six o'clock in the evening," he writes, "M. de Talleyrand arrived at my house, accompanied or rather conducted by Mme. de Rémusat, for it was she who did the talking." She said that it was a great misfortune that Talleyrand had received the order to rejoin the Empress, as there would be left in Paris no one of any standing or authority to treat with the enemy. Pasquier agreed, but replied that he did not see what he could do in the matter. Finally, after many circumlocutions, the Rémusat proposed that he should arrange to have Talleyrand turned back at one of the barriers, when he tried to leave the city. Pasquier refused to be involved in the matter, but suggested a simple means of accomplishing their end. He said that Rémusat, who held a command in the National Guard, was certainly the officer in charge of one of the barriers, and that his wife could arrange with him to turn back Talleyrand when he presented himself at that gate of the city.

An hour later, Talleyrand presented himself at the barrier of the Champs-Élysées, where the company of M. de Rémusat was on guard, and was politely invited to return home, which he did without being urged. By this simple ruse, the arch-traitor, the greatest enemy of the Emperor, succeeded in evading the order to rejoin the Empress.[7]

While allowing many dangerous persons to remain in Paris, Joseph hastened the departure of some who might have stayed without any trouble. In his letter of the 8 February the Emperor had said that his mother, and the Queen of Westphalia, who was lodging with her, could just as well remain in the city. But Catherine left before the Empress, and was already at Rambouillet when Marie-Louise reached there late

[7] See 2 Pasquier, 231–232.

on the afternoon of the 29th. Madame, accompanied by Louis, arrived the same evening.

Hortense, who had awaited at the Tuileries the decision of the Council, wrote her mother from there, and advised her to go to Navarre. She herself intended to remain, but after her return home she received during the course of the night three pressing letters from Louis, urging her to depart, on account of her sons. In his final letter, Louis said that, if the city were taken, their sons might be seized as hostages. This alarmed Hortense, and she set out at nine o'clock in the evening, but stopped for the night at the house of a friend, near Versailles. The following morning she proceeded to Rambouillet, where she arrived late, and spent the night. Louis had already left, with the Empress, for Blois, where he urged Hortense to join them. Instead of complying with this order, she turned back, and went to join her mother at Navarre.[8]

Julie, also, proposed to remain in Paris, where she could find refuge in the hôtel of the Rue d'Anjou,[9] the residence of her sister Désirée, the Crown Princess of Sweden, whose husband was with the Allies. At first, Joseph raised no objections to this plan; but, at ten o'clock he sent one of his aides de camp with a formal order for her to leave. She therefore set out before noon, went directly to Rambouillet, and then pushed on to Chartres, where she joined the Empress in the evening.

In his letter of the 16 March to Joseph, the Emperor had said, "Do not quit my son"; but the King had stayed in Paris, perhaps for ulterior motives of his own. In a proclamation to the "Citizens of Paris," which he had posted on the morning of the 30 March, he said: "The Regency Council has provided for the safety of the Empress and of the King of Rome. *I remain with you.* Let us take arms to defend this city, its monuments, its riches, our wives, our children, everything that to us

[8] For this action she is very bitterly condemned by M. Masson, but, it seems to us, unjustly. (See 9 Masson, 423.)

[9] This hôtel, at No. 50, Rue d'Anjou, was razed at the time the Boulevard Malesherbes was constructed, during the Second Empire.

is dear. . . . The Emperor is marching to our rescue; second him by a short and lively resistance, and conserve the French honor."

The King passed the night in his palace of the Luxembourg, and went from there at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th to a pavilion on Montmartre, where he was joined by his brother Jérôme; the marshals, Marmont, Mortier, and Moncey; General Clarke, the Minister of War; and several other general officers.

Joseph failed to take the general command, imposed upon him as the lieutenant of the Emperor, and the marshals, Marmont and Mortier, fought each one on his own account. At noon, after a conference with the officers around him, Joseph sent the two marshals "the authorization, if they could no longer hold their positions, to open negotiations with Prince Schwarzenberg and the Emperor of Russia, who were before them, and retire upon the Loire."

At one-thirty, General Dejean, aide de camp of the Emperor, arrived at the Luxembourg, where he found no one to speak to but Miot. He said that the Emperor, with a part of his Guard, was at Fontainebleau; that if Paris held out during the day, the Emperor would certainly be there the next morning, prepared to defend the city. Dejean finally found Joseph, in some unknown locality, only to be informed that, "it is impossible for the corps of the ducs de Trévise and de Raguse to resist the enemy."

Then Joseph, followed by a large escort, his brother, his staff, and the ministers, galloped through the Bois de Boulogne, across the Sèvres bridge, and disappeared from the scene, without giving any military orders, and without leaving any instructions for the civil authorities. He stated later that he had not crossed the Seine before four o'clock, but it is on record that he passed through Versailles at that hour.

At Chartres, Joseph saw the Empress for a few minutes, before she left for Châteaudun, but he did not accompany her; nor did he think of joining the Emperor at Fontainebleau, although he knew of his arrival there. At Chartres, he received,

and opened, letters from the Emperor, directing the Empress to proceed to Orléans and Blois: these he forwarded.

Although it is not known that the Emperor formally revoked Joseph's powers as his lieutenant, this seems probable. At any rate, Joseph signed no more official acts. From this moment, he disappeared into the obscurity from which Napoleon had drawn him, for his own misfortune and that of France.

In the meantime the Royalist conspirators at Paris, under the leadership of Talleyrand, had proclaimed the counter-revolution. At the suggestion of Talleyrand, to his guest the Czar,[10] the Allies had announced that they "would no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family." At the same time they convoked the Senate, to form a government and prepare a new constitution. The Senate at once decreed a Provisional Government, composed of Talleyrand and the four associates whom he had designated: Jaucourt, Dalberg, Beurnonville, and the Abbé Montesquiou. "Such," says M. Masson, "was the Government which was to dispose of France, and recall to the throne of Saint Louis the august race of the Bourbons."[11]

On the second of April, Joseph arrived at Blois with Jérôme. There he found a letter from the Emperor, advising the members of the family to disperse. "Let the King of Westphalia go into Bretagne or to Bourges," he wrote. "I think that Madame will do well to go and join her daughter at Nice; Queen Julie and her children, to draw near to Marseille; it is natural that King Louis, who has always loved the Midi, should go to Montpellier. . . . Recommend to all the most strict economy."

[10] At this time, Talleyrand was occupying the former Hôtel de l'Infantado, now the Hôtel Rothschild, at the corner of the rues de Rivoli and Saint-Florentin.

[11] 9 Masson, 433. Jaucourt, the former first chamberlain of Joseph, had acted in the Luxembourg as a spy for the Allies; Dalberg, a German, had been naturalized hardly four years; Beurnonville represented the armies of the Revolution; and Montesquiou, a former member of the Assembly, had become an ardent Royalist.

To this Joseph replied the following day: " Mama and Louis are ready to meet your views. The first will need money: six months of her allowance are due her. Jérôme also has no funds. My wife no longer has any one at Marseille. Could not Jérôme be sent to the command of the Army of Lyon? "

On the 7th, Galbois arrived before noon from Fontainebleau, bearing letters from the Emperor and the Duc de Bassano, announcing the abdication. This was the end!

At noon, there assembled at Joseph's quarters all the members of the the family: Madame, Louis, Jérôme, and Joseph's two daughters. There was read the letter of Bassano, transmitting the text of the abdication, and a note regarding the allowances.[12] Every member of the family had the same fear: " that the Allied Powers would impose on them the obligation of going to the island of Elba, and would make this a condition of their enjoying the revenue assigned them." To avert such a catastrophe, Miot was despatched to Paris with letters to Talleyrand, Jaucourt, Schwarzenberg, and Désirée, from the different members of the family, begging for passports to Switzerland or Germany.

On the 8 April, General Schouvaloff, aide de camp of the Czar, arrived at Blois, with M. de Saint-Aignan, and invited the Empress to go to Orléans. She set out the following morning at nine o'clock, followed by Madame, Joseph, Julie, Louis, Jérôme, and Catherine, who did not know what else to do.

In the meantime, in his palace of Fontainebleau, which is abandoned day by day by his followers, the Emperor is left almost entirely alone. Of all the members of his family, whom he has loaded with benefits, not one thinks of traversing the few miles which separate them, to cheer him up in his agony. He has no word from his wife or son in reply to his numerous

[12] To the princes and princesses of the Imperial family was attributed a revenue of two millions and a half of francs, entirely apart from what property they might possess, either real or personal. Of this sum, Louis was allowed two hundred thousand francs; Madame, Élisa, and Pauline, each three hundred thousand; Hortense, four hundred thousand; Joseph and Jérôme each five hundred thousand.

letters. He is profoundly disheartened. On the 12 April, he receives for his approval the Treaty of Fontainebleau, already signed by his marshals in his name, and at the same time learns that his wife has left Orléans, to rejoin her father.

Up to that moment Napoleon had borne all his misfortunes with the greatest fortitude, but that night he took a dose of poison which he had carried since the retreat from Moscow. Immediately afterward he regretted his act, and called for assistance. His physician, Yvan, gave him an antidote which soon relieved him. In the morning he had entirely recovered his usual calm self-possession, and during the course of the day he signed the treaty.

This attempt at suicide was so incompatible with all of Napoleon's well-known principles that many have doubted the fact.[13] He had said: "A violent death is cowardice. . . . Suicide is incompatible with my principles and with the position I have occupied in the world." Again, he had remarked: "To abandon oneself to despair without a struggle, to commit suicide as a relief, is like leaving the field of battle before we have vanquished the enemy." But the evidence that he made the attempt is too strong to admit any doubts on the subject.[14]

But there was one faithful heart which still remained devoted to Napoleon in his misfortunes. Two days after he signed the treaty, a veiled lady arrived late in the evening. She gave no name, no one knew her, and the attendants refused to awaken the Emperor. She waited the whole night, and when she went away in the morning she left a letter for him. Napoleon sent after her, but it was too late to stop her. Then he wrote:

Marie, I have received your letter of the 15th. The feelings which animate you affect me deeply. They are worthy of your lovely soul, and of the kindness of your heart. When you shall have arranged your affairs, if you go to the waters of Lucca or of Pisa, I shall see you again with great satisfaction, as well

[13] See Ludwig, 477 and 605.

[14] See Constant, Fain, Macdonald, and others, whose testimony is accepted by Thiers, Masson, Rose, and nearly all of the best authorities.

as your son. Why mistrust me? I shall always be the same. [Illegible]. Think of me pleasantly. Never doubt me.

Your

N [15]

It is the 20 April: all the formalities have been accomplished; the four commissioners of the Allies, who are to accompany him to Elba, have arrived; the start is fixed for noon. He writes a short note to his wife, ending with the words: "Adieu, my good Louise. Rest assured of the courage, the tranquillity, and the affection of your husband — N." He adds a postscript: "A kiss for the little King."

On the stroke of midday the faithful Bertrand announces to the Emperor that all is ready. He traverses the gallery of Francis the First with a firm and rapid step, and descends the stairway of the Fer-à-cheval. In the courtyard the Old Guard is drawn up in serried ranks. On his appearance the drums beat the charge. At the foot of the stairs the Emperor makes a sign that he wishes to speak, and the drums are silent.

"Soldiers of my Old Guard!" he says, "I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have found you always in the path of honor and of glory." After a few more words his voice breaks. Then he continues: "Adieu, my children. I would like to press you all against my heart. Let me at least embrace your flag!" At these words General Petit seizes the flag and comes forward. Napoleon receives him in his arms, and kisses the eagle of the standard. "Adieu, my comrades!" He enters the carriage and drives away, amid prolonged cries of *Vive l'Empereur!*

[15] This letter to Madame Walewska, which is printed in facsimile by Emil Ludwig (page 677), is more legible than many of Napoleon's notes, but there are five or six words which it is difficult to decipher.

CHAPTER FIFTY-SIX

MARCH — MAY 1814

THE FAMILY DISPERSED

Marie-Louise Distributes Napoleon's Funds — Arrival of Cardinal Fesch — He Accompanies Madame to Rome — Louis Goes to Lausanne — Julie Returns to Mortefontaine — Joseph Leaves for Switzerland — Catherine Goes to Paris to See the Czar — Correspondence with Her Father — Her Fine Character — She Leaves to Rejoin Jérôme in Switzerland — She Is Robbed of Her Jewels — The Mysterious Maubreuil Affair — Catherine Reaches Berne — Further Correspondence with Her Father — Fortunes of the King and Queen — They Settle at Gratz — Napoleon Leaves for the Coast — His Dangerous Journey — He Meets Pauline — Embarks for Elba — Pauline at Nice — Her Husband Leaves Turin — Pauline's Love for Napoleon — She Plans to Join Him at Elba — Élisa and Bacciochi — Lucien Congratulates the Pope — He Returns to Rome — Eugène Invited to Live in Bavaria — His Conventions with the Austrians — He Fails to Secure Popular Support — He Departs with His Wife — His Fidelity to the Emperor

THE departure of Marie-Louise from Orléans on the 12 April, to seek refuge with her father, was the signal for the dispersal of the Bonapartes. Before leaving, under instructions from the Emperor she distributed two million francs among the members of the family, giving Madame, Joseph, Louis, and Jérôme each half a million. This was ample to provide for their immediate necessities. She also divided half a million among her household and the officers and soldiers of her escort, and sent the Emperor, at Fontainebleau, upon his demand, three millions and a half. She then sent word through Méneval that, on account of the needs of her father, she was forced to retain the balance of the funds, two millions, which she promised to remit him later from Vienna; but she never kept her word. It should be stated that these funds did not belong to the Crown, but were Napoleon's savings from

his Civil list over a period of ten years. The Empress also carried with her the Crown jewels, as well as her own private collection.[1]

Madame had already procured safe-conducts and passports to go to Nice, where she expected to spend a few days with Pauline, and then proceed by way of Genoa to Rome. She had just learned of the total destruction, on the 14 March, of her beautiful château of Pont-sur-Seine. This act of vandalism was committed by the express orders of the Crown Prince of Würtemberg, the brother-in-law of Jérôme. He was a *mauvais sujet*, whom his father had thrice restored to grace at the special intercession of the Emperor.

At the moment of her departure, her brother, Cardinal Fesch, fortunately arrived, and offered to be her travelling-companion. The cardinal had resided at Lyon since the month of May 1813, when he returned from Paris after the rupture of the new Concordat with the Pope, and had devoted himself with unusual zeal to the affairs of his see. Fleeing from Lyon, at the approach of the Austrian troops, he had gone to Nîmes, and then to Montpellier. On learning of the abdication of the Emperor, he proceeded by a round-about route to Orléans, where he arrived the day after the departure of the Empress.

On Monday, the 11 April, Madame set out with Fesch for Lyon, where he had some private affairs to arrange. There they decided to go to Italy by way of Mont-Cenis, instead of via Nice and Genoa. On the 27th, they continued their journey, with a very small suite, under the escort of some Austrian troops. They arrived without any trouble at Césène, at the moment that Pius the Seventh made his triumphal entry, on his way back from Fontainebleau to Rome. The cardinal solicited an audience, and was very cordially received by the Pope, who promised him and his sister a warm welcome in his States. On the evening of the 12 May, Fesch and Madame arrived at Rome, and took up their residence in the Palazzo Falconieri, Via Giulia.

[1] See *Napoleon and Marie-Louise*, 310–313.

The same day that his mother and uncle left Orléans, Louis also took his departure, and travelled directly to Lausanne, where he took up his residence, under the name of the Comte de Saint-Leu. Freed from the domination of his brother, he immediately wrote to Hortense, and proposed a formal separation, as a preliminary step to the annulment of their marriage.

For her part, Julie had no intention of taking refuge either in Italy or Switzerland. When she left Orléans, it was to go directly to Paris, where she installed herself for the moment with her sister Désirée, in that handsome hôtel of the Rue d'Anjou, which the First Consul had purchased from Moreau and presented to Bernadotte. From there, at the end of a few days, she went quietly to Mortefontaine. Here she resumed her former life, as though the Empire had not fallen, or as if there never had been any Empire.

Joseph remained at Orléans, pending the receipt of passports to go to Paris. But the Government seemed to fear his presence in the capital, and would not give him permission to return. Finally, through the influence of his former chamberlain, Jaucourt, he received a safe-conduct to leave France, under condition that he agreed not to return without a permit from the Government. Leaving Orléans on the 18 April, Joseph went to Bourges, Nevers, and Autun; there he eluded the vigilance of the authorities. Later, he was reported at Chalon-sur-Saône, and followed to Dôle, thence to Verrières, where he passed into Switzerland.

On the 5 April, even before she knew of the abdication, Catherine wrote her cousin, the Czar, to demand his protection. She also enclosed a letter to her father, which she begged Alexander to forward. She accompanied the Empress to Orléans, but did not stop there. Under the pretext of an invitation from her cousin, she proceeded directly to Paris, where she arrived at midnight on the 10th, and lodged at the hôtel of Cardinal Fesch, Chaussée-d'Antin. Her thought seems to have been that she could gain her ends with the Czar better by

CARDINAL FESCH

a personal interview than by letters. She was well received by Alexander, to whom, during her stay, she sold the gallery of the cardinal. She also persuaded the Czar to send one of his own aides de camp, to escort Jérôme safely to Switzerland, where he finally arrived on the 25th, at Neuchâtel.

On the 14th April, having heard of Catherine's arrival at Paris, and thinking that she had left her husband definitely, her father wrote her a very affectionate letter, inviting her to return to him at once. But, the following day, he received two letters from his daughter, dated the 5th and the 9th, in which, far from announcing their separation, she informed her father that they proposed to find refuge in his States. The King, who was one of the most domineering men in Europe, replied, in a brutal letter:

"Follow the example given you by the daughter of the Emperor Francis. She descends from a higher rank than yours: she is a mother, as you are going to be, and she returns to the side of her father, to the bosom of her family. Do the same, and return to the arms of a tender father. . . . Come, I repeat, to the bosom of your family, but which can never receive a Bonaparte!"

But Catherine was her father's daughter: she was not one to yield to threats. She answered: "My dear father, whatever may have been, all my life, my tenderness, and my submission to the least of your wishes, you yourself cannot blame me if, in a matter of this importance, I find myself obliged to listen only to the dictates of duty and of honor." She then added that she owed to her husband seven years of happiness, and she would never abandon him in the hour of his misfortune.

"If one desires to study feminine psychology," writes M. Masson, "one will find here a fine opportunity: Marie-Louise, whom physical motives do not restrain, and who seems devoid of morals, returns to her father, who will provide her with a lover; Augusta of Bavaria drags her husband back to her family, who will make of him a well-endowed Bavarian; Catherine, the only one whose affection is disinterested, refuses to

abandon the husband whom she loves, and sacrifices everything for him." [2]

At Paris, the Government began to take offense over the prolonged stay of the Queen, and let her know that her visit was not regarded with favor. She had now accomplished all that she could hope for, so she prepared to leave. She had sold her horses and carriages for ninety thousand francs, and had disposed of some bank stocks for about fifty thousand additional; she had also arranged for the management of the two estates, Stains and Villandry, which Jérôme had bought several months before, and which were now of no use to him. With the proceeds of her sales, she liquidated nearly all of the personal debts of her husband and herself, and was now in haste to take her departure, in order to rejoin Jérôme. Although she had secured an officer to accompany her husband, and could easily have obtained one for herself, as well as an escort, she set out on the night of the 17 April, armed only with safe-conducts and passports. She travelled in a berline, with six horses, and was accompanied by the Comtesse de Bocholtz, and the Comte de Fürstenstein and his wife. She carried eleven small cases, containing her jewels, and those of Jérôme, besides 84,000 francs in gold. Her servants followed in four carriages. She took the route for Orléans, but learned on the night of the 18th, by a courier from Jérôme, that he had already left for Berne. So she retraced her steps, in order to take the road to Dijon, and spent the night of the 19th at Nemours. She was resting there the following day, when the Emperor passed through on his way to Elba, but she did not see him.

That night, she set out again, and went up to Fontainebleau, in order to get on the road to Sens. At daybreak the next morning (21 April), when near Fossard, she was held up by an officer, in command of eight troopers, all wearing the uniforms of the chasseurs of the Guard. The officer notified her that "she was arrested in the name of His Majesty, King Louis the Eighteenth, and that he was charged by the supreme

[2] 10 Masson, 24.

authorities to search the carriage and assure himself that it did not contain the Crown diamonds." He presented an official paper, signed by General Dupont, the Minister of War, giving M. de Maubreuil full authority "for the execution of the measures which he was charged to take for the service of His Majesty."

Maubreuil refused even to look at their passports, and directed the Queen to proceed to Fossard. There she was placed under guard in a large stable adjoining the inn, while this brigand rifled all of her boxes, and took possession of their contents. This took several hours, which Catherine passed seated on a cane-chair. She then asked to have her valuables returned to her, but Maubreuil pretended that it was necessary to take the boxes to Paris for further examination by the Government. He ordered her to enter her carriage, and follow the road to Sens. A little later, she encountered a regiment of Würtemberg cavalry, which escorted her to the Swiss frontier.

At her first stop, Catherine wrote a long letter to the Czar, in which she gave a very clear account of this outrage, and claimed his protection. Alexander replied at once: "I can guarantee that it was only a band of brigands, and their whole conduct should prove this to Your Majesty. I have exacted of the Government the most prompt measures to discover and punish the culprits." But poor Catherine never recovered her jewels or her money! "[3]

On the 30 April, Catherine arrived, very brave but very tired, at Berne, where she found Jérôme awaiting her; and, to welcome her, she also found the most cruel and the most brutal letter from her father that it is possible to imagine:

"King Jérôme," he wrote, "will never be received by me; a Bonaparte shall never pass my frontiers. . . . Brother of a tyrant, whose ephemeral throne owed its existence only to the destruction of the principal sovereigns of Germany, nearly all your relatives, your grandfathers or your grandmothers. A

[3] For further details of this mysterious affair, see Appendix M.

Bonaparte shall never reign, even over a small State." And this from a man who owed his crown, and his royal title, to the Emperor of the French!

Then this excellent father goes on to say that he has " known, in all its details, the inside history of her union with King Jérôme." Jérôme, he stated, had wanted to repudiate her only a year before, at Dresden, and had been prevented by Napoleon. " It is such a union, which, under the present circumstances, I desire to see broken."

Catherine wrote in reply: " You, and all my family, misunderstand the King, my husband; a time will come, I hope, when you will be convinced of this fact. . . . I ask only for tranquillity and rest, and it will be cruel for me to enter again on disputes with a father whom I love and whom I respect more than my life."

Then Jérôme wrote his father-in-law an excellent letter, in which he stated that the King owed his throne to the Emperor. " In the time of my prosperity, did Your Majesty ever think of separating your daughter from me? I pray Your Majesty to remark that your alliance has not even let me hope for what the smallest peasant finds in the home of his wife's father — a refuge in misfortune. . . . I have asked nothing from Your Majesty. My wife, as perfect a spouse as she is a discreet daughter, has accepted nothing from you. Happy in her private life, she feels for Your Majesty all the tenderness of a cherished daughter, and, as the price of these same feelings, Your Majesty desires to deprive her both of her life and her happiness. . . . Misfortunes may overcome a feeble soul, but they have no power over me."

From Berne, Jérôme sent Fürstenstein to Paris, to try to recover the stolen jewels, which Catherine wrote Alexander were worth over three millions, and constituted their sole fortune. But this did not prevent the " Comte de Harz " and his wife from making, at great expense, a gay trip through Switzerland, nor from renting for six months the magnificent château of Ekensberg, about a mile from Gratz, in Austria.

In the meantime, the cases of the Queen, deposited at the Préfecture of Police at Paris, had been examined, and found empty. Instead of 84,000 francs in gold, there was found 2000 in silver. Of the four or five millions of diamonds, belonging to Jérôme, there remained less than a million and a half, which he had fortunately carried on his person. He had also his magnificent furniture and silver, and his two estates, for which he had paid nearly a million. But this was comparative poverty for a man with the extravagant tastes of Jérôme.

Having received the permission of the Emperor Francis, to reside incognito, in his dominions, on the second day of June, after a visit from King Joseph, Jérôme and Catherine set out for Gratz.

It will thus appear that six members of the family — Madame, Fesch, Joseph, Julie, Jérôme, and Catherine — had passed within a few miles of Fontainebleau, while the Emperor was still there, but not one had thought to pay his homages to the person to whom they all owed everything! Deserted by his wife and child, by his mother and his uncle, by his brothers and sisters, by his marshals and ministers, by his courtiers and valets, is it remarkable that Napoleon thought of death?

Leaving Fontainebleau at noon, on the 20 April, the Emperor had an escort of French, Austrian, or Russian troops as far as Varennes-le-Grand. During this part of his journey it would therefore have been difficult for Maubreuil to carry out his mission. At Lyon, which he passed through on the night of the 23d, he had a respectful reception. At Valence, the following afternoon, he stopped only to change horses. Here the commissioners learned that the Royalist sentiment in Provence was very strong, and there might be trouble; but they thought to traverse the dangerous zone so quickly as not to attract attention. In this, they were mistaken: in the villages where they stopped to change horses, the crowds raged around the carriages, shouting insults, and the journey soon became a flight. Since the days when he had witnessed the two attacks

on the Tuileries, and the 19 Brumaire when he was in such personal peril, Napoleon had always had a dread of mob violence. Now he sat, pale and silent, huddled in a corner of the carriage. In mufti, he may escape, but not in his well-known green uniform. In a lonely road, he orders the carriage stopped, and mounts one of the post-horses, taken from the traces. With a white cockade in his plain round hat, he rides in front of the carriages. When he reaches an inn, he changes again, puts on an Austrian uniform, a Prussian cap, and a Russian cloak over his shoulders. In this motley costume, the Emperor Napoleon reaches the coast in safety.

At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 26 April, the Emperor arrived at Le Luc, about twenty miles from Fréjus, and went to the château where Pauline was living. There, for the first time, he found a being who loved him sincerely, for himself alone. He was still attired in that strange uniform which he had been forced to assume in order to avoid the violence of the rabble. Pauline grasped the hands of her brother, which she kissed, and bathed with her tears. She shut herself up with him in her apartment, where they remained alone until eight o'clock. Then they went together to the residence of a devoted friend, M. Savournin, who lived at Le Rayol, nearer to Fréjus, where the Emperor was to embark. Learning that the Emperor was looking for a secretary, Savournin offered the services of his own son, who was at once engaged by Napoleon, to work with the grand marshal, Bertrand. At eight o'clock, on the evening of the 28 April, the Emperor embarked on the British frigate, the *Undaunted,* where he was received with military honors, and a salute of twenty-one guns.

Pauline had passed nearly the entire winter at Nice. Owing to the delicate state of her health she was kept as much as possible in ignorance of the course of events, but her attendants could not conceal from her the arrival of the Pope, on the 10 February. She made two visits to the Holy Father, who received her with great kindness. Toward the middle of March she went to Le Luc, where a friend had placed at her disposal

the château of Bouillidou, at which Napoleon had stopped on his return from Egypt.

Pauline had no idea of rejoining her husband, who was still residing at Turin, as governor-general of the departments beyond the Alps. When the news of the Emperor's abdication reached Borghèse, on the 19 April, he made haste to send in his adhesion to the new Government, and ordered all of his subordinates to assume the white cockade. On the 27th, he signed with the English and Austrian commissioners a convention for the evacuation of Piedmont; and four days later, he set out for Milan, whence he expected to proceed to Rome. But the Papal authorities refused for several weeks to send him passports. Finally, the Pope gave him permission to come to Rome, where he was so coldly received that he soon left in disgust, to take up his residence in Florence.

As soon as Pauline heard of the events of Fontainebleau, she wrote Bacciochi, who had invited her to accompany him to Rome: " As the Emperor should pass by here, I wish to see him, and offer my consolations; if he allows me to follow him, I shall never leave him again. If he refuses, I shall go to the King of Naples. I have not loved the Emperor as a sovereign; I have loved him as my brother, and I shall remain faithful to him even unto death."

When she saw the Emperor, she informed him of her wish to join him at Elba, and he was much touched at this evidence of her devotion. She was the first, and the only member of his family to offer to share his exile. He immediately requested the British commissioner, Colonel Campbell, to place at her disposal a vessel to conduct her later to the island, as she could not arrange to sail with him.

Leaving Turin on the 19 March, Élisa had arrived on the 23d at Montpellier, where she leased a château near the city. It had been her intention to go to Paris, but she was prevented by the movements of the allied troops. At Genoa, she was joined en route by Prince Félix, who " had thought that for the moment his place was beside her." Therefore this excellent

husband, general of division, and commander in chief at Genoa, had abandoned his post at the moment that the city was about to be attacked by the English.

The last of March, Élisa saw her friend Fouché, who spent two days with her on his way from Italy to Paris. When she heard of the abdication of the Emperor, she wrote the Duc d'Otrante: " So then this terrible catastrophe has occurred. All is lost; I have decided to leave for Naples. I wish to settle at Rome, provided the French Government sees no obstacle and the Pope is willing. . . . Work for me with Prince de Bénévant. We are proscribed. Every one is crushing us."

Threatened by the populace, she set out on the 16 April for Marseille, where she proposed to embark for Naples. But, after a few days, she changed her plans, and left for Bologna, where she arrived on the 26th, and went to an estate she owned in the environs. Besides her husband, she was accompanied by young Lucchesini, who had replaced Cenami in her affections.

The day after his arrival, Prince Félix, become once more Félix Bacciochi, sent in his adhesion to the new French Government, and joined to his declaration his oath, as Senator, to the new Constitution. This reveals the character of the man; but, after all, he was not the only member of the family who hoped to retain his seat in the Royal Senate.

Lucien also had the same hopes. On the 11 April, after learning of Napoleon's final downfall, he wrote the Pope, to offer his sincere congratulations to the Holy Father on his return to his States. " Although so unjustly persecuted by the Emperor Napoleon," he said in conclusion, " I cannot be indifferent to the doom which has overwhelmed him. This is the first moment, in ten years, that I still feel like his brother. I pardon him, I am sorry for him, and I pray that in the end he may return to the bosom of the Church, and acquire rights to the indulgence of the Merciful Father and the prayers of his Vicar."

His true thoughts, however, are better expressed in a letter which he wrote Masséna a fortnight later: " Thus the drama is

ended! What glory lost! Good God! how many souvenirs and regrets! . . . In this catastrophe, must I still be persecuted? Is there no Fatherland for me? I write you frankly, and I beg you to send me a word at Rome, where I am going, to embrace my mother. Am I still regarded as a Senator at Paris? . . . No matter how things turn out for me, an honorable peace and a limited monarchy are the best things for France, and I shall rejoice over them from afar or from near."

Thus writes "your affectionate servant Lucien Bonaparte" to the Prince d'Essling; and the devoted Chatillon, who bore the letter to Paris, was to broach the same subject with the Prince de Bénévant. He was also charged to arrange with Didot for the publication of *Charlemagne,* and to remain at Paris to oversee it.

Chatillon saw Talleyrand, who refused even to issue passports for Lucien to traverse France. But Lucien arranged this matter easily: his factotum, Père Maurice, obtained from Lord Castlereagh passports for himself, a secretary, and a courier, and Lucien would be the secretary.

Leaving his wife at Thorngrove, Lucien travelled to Paris, where he passed several days in a kind of demi-incognito, for his presence was reported in the journals, which contained inspired articles regarding the publication of his poem. He finally reached Rome, without any trouble, on the 27 May. The same evening, he was received in private audience by Pius the Seventh, who graciously allowed Lucien to dedicate to him his chef-d'œuvre.

Thus, after two decades, the turn of the wheel of Fortune has brought back to maternal Italy, the land of their ancestors, half of the Bonaparte family. Napoleon is King of Elba; his mother, his uncle, and one of his brothers, are private citizens at Rome; another sister is a temporary resident of Bologna; his youngest sister is still occupying with her husband the throne of Naples; while his step-son, Eugène, is on the point of losing the vice-royalty of Italy, with which Napoleon had endowed him.

As we have already seen, the occupation of Paris by the Allies had put an end to the negotiations between Eugène and Joachim, and the King had returned, with as good grace as possible, to Naples, where he was temporarily allowed to reign. It only remains to speak of the divestment of the Viceroy.

On the 11 April, the Austrian marshal, Bellegarde, officially notified Eugène of the capitulation of Paris, and a tacit armistice was established between the two armies. A few days later, Neipperg, accompanied by an aide de camp of the King of Bavaria, presented himself at the advance-posts of the French army, and requested an interview with the Viceroy. They were the bearers of a letter, in which the King, after praising the loyalty of his son-in-law, " of which he was proud," announced to him that the cause of the Emperor was lost, and Eugène might change his allegiance without dishonor. " You owe it," he said, " to your wife and children."

Undoubtedly, Eugène should have awaited orders from the Emperor, or the Minister of War, or his military superior, the Chief of Staff, but he assumed the responsibility of signing a preliminary convention with the Austrians for the evacuation of the strongholds of the eastern part of Northern Italy. He then prepared to take the route for the Alps with the French troops under his command. In a final proclamation to his army, which did not mention the name of the Emperor, he made an appeal which may be regarded as a personal bid for popular support: " A people," he said, " good, generous, faithful, has rights upon the remainder of my existence, which for ten years past I have consecrated to its service. So long as I am permitted to occupy myself with its happiness, which was ever the dearest concern of my life, I ask for myself no other future."

At the same time Eugène persuaded the Italian troops, under his orders, to send a deputation in his favor to Paris. But during his absence from Milan, three separate factions had developed: one favorable to Murat, a second purely Italian, and a third, the strongest and richest, for Austria. There was an uprising at the capital, accompanied by pillage, and resulting in the loss of many lives.

When this news reached Mantua, the army acclaimed Eugène as King of Italy, and wished to march on Milan. But Eugène had better sense than Murat: he realized that he would have no chance of success against the power of Austria. "I do not wish," he said, "to impose myself upon a country which does not want me. . . . The country declines to support me: it is enough."

On the 23 April, he signed a final convention with the Austrians, in which he surrendered to them all of Northern Italy. Then he departed for Munich, with his wife, and her baby who was only ten days old.[4]

Among the grand avenues which radiate from the Arc de Triomphe at Paris one was formerly called by the name of Joséphine, another was the Avenue de la Reine-Hortense. The statue of Joséphine, which occupied the middle of the street, is now in the museum at Versailles, and the Avenue Joséphine is named Marceau, while the street bearing the name of Queen Hortense is now the Avenue Hoche. A new boulevard, now called Voltaire, received the name of Prince Eugène, and had a statue of the Viceroy of Italy. He was represented standing, head uncovered, in the uniform of a general, a mantle thrown over his shoulders, his left hand resting on the hilt of his sabre, holding in his right hand a letter which he appeared to be crumpling — the letter in which he was offered the crown of Italy on condition of abandoning the cause of the Emperor. One side of the monument was covered by the text of the noble reply which Eugène made to the Czar on the 20 April 1814:

"Neither the perspective of the Duchy of Genoa, nor that of the Kingdom of Italy, will lead me to treason. I prefer to become once more a private in the ranks rather than to be a disgraced sovereign. The Emperor, you say, has wronged me. I have forgotten this: I remember only his benefits. I owe him everything: my rank, my titles, my fortune; and, what I prefer to all that, I owe to him what your indulgence is pleased to call

[4] Théodelinde-Louise-Eugénie-Auguste-Napoléone, born at Mantua the 13 April 1814. She married the Count of Würtemberg.

my glory. I will serve him as long as he lives; my body belongs to him, as well as my heart. May my sword break in my hands, if it ever be faithless to the Emperor and to France! "[5]

[5] In his earlier works, M. Masson was very favorable to Joséphine and her children; but, in his later volumes, he accuses them all of treachery to the Emperor, upon evidence which seems to us absolutely inconclusive. (See 10 Masson, 97–116.)

CHAPTER FIFTY-SEVEN

APRIL 1814 — MARCH 1815

HORTENSE AND EUGENE

Hortense Goes to Navarre — Napoleon's Provisions for the Beauharnais — Hortense Urged to Return to Paris — She Rejoins Her Mother at Malmaison — Alexander Is Very Attentive — Arrival of Eugène — His Reception by the King — Hortense's Party at Saint-Leu — Beginning of Joséphine's Illness — Death of the Empress — Napoleon Not Notified — Joséphine's Estate — The Duchy of Navarre — Hortense Becomes Duchesse de Saint-Leu — Eugène Returns to Munich — Hortense Visits Him at Baden — Her Return Home — Louis Threatens an Action to Recover His Son — Correspondence with Hortense — Alexander and the King Refuse to Interfere — Hortense Retains Counsel — Also Louis — Grounds of the Action — Trial of the Case — The Arguments — The Public Interest — Judgment in Favor of Louis — Its Execution Suspended by the Return of the Emperor

HORTENSE spent the night of the 30 March at Rambouillet, where she found her brothers-in-law, Joseph and Jérôme. The following morning she received a courier from Louis bearing a formal order from the Regent to rejoin her at Blois. In this she saw only another instance of her husband's "persecutions." She notified Louis, Marie-Louise, and the Emperor, of her refusal to obey; ordered her carriage, and started for Navarre. She did not stop to reflect that, by her action, she was separating her sons from the dynasty of which, after the King of Rome, they were the presumptive heirs. Her only thought was that this was an opportunity to break her ties with Louis, and gain her freedom.[1]

Avoiding the forest, where she feared to encounter the Cossacks, she followed the main highway to Maintenon, where she

[1] Her course is very severely condemned by Masson (10, 119–120).

secured the escort of a regiment of cavalry. She passed the night at the château of a friend, and proceeded at five o'clock the following morning, without her escort. At ten miles from Navarre, she was met by M. de Portalès, with some horses sent by her mother.

On the 3 April, there arrived from Fontainebleau a representative of the Duc de Bassano, with a letter to his wife, who was staying with Joséphine, announcing the capitulation of Paris. Hortense's first idea was to seek refuge in Martinique, and she sent Mlle. Cochelet to Paris, to make the necessary preparations.

At the same time, Joséphine decided to return to Malmaison, and resume her former life. She had received the reassuring news that neither the château nor the park had been damaged by the enemy. But she deferred her departure, pending news from Fontainebleau regarding her lot, and that of her children, under the new treaty. She soon learned from the Duc de Vicence that the Emperor had stipulated for a most generous arrangement for the Beauharnais. She herself was to receive an income of one million francs a year, besides the full possession of all her property, both real and personal; Hortense and her children were to have four hundred thousand; and there was promised " to Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment outside of France." Nor was this all: Napoleon gave orders that, out of his funds at Blois, there should be paid all the arrears due on the allowances of the Family. Accordingly, the sum of seven hundred thousand francs was set aside for the Empress Joséphine, and six hundred thousand francs for Hortense. As they had no one there to receive these sums, Mollien deposited them with the receiver-general of the department of the Loiret, M. Lefebvre, whose wife was then enjoying the generous hospitality of Joséphine at Navarre. Both she and her husband, however, neglected to inform the Empress and the Queen, and " this sum was remitted to the Duc d'Angoulême, who never turned it over." [2]

[2] From this it appears that, among their other crimes, the Bourbons added robbery to assassination!

On her arrival at Paris, Cochelet had fallen into the society of the émigrés who had returned with the Bourbons, and she was soon completely under their influence. Wholly devoted to Hortense, with the best intentions in the world she devoted all her energies to persuading the Queen to separate her lot from that of the Bonapartes, by coming to Paris, and placing herself under the protection of the enemies of Napoleon. She reported the words of Talleyrand, who said, in a council of the Allies: "I plead solely for Queen Hortense: she is the only one whom I esteem." Caulaincourt charged Mlle. Cochelet to tell the Queen to come to Malmaison, as the future of her children depended on this course. Dalberg and Metternich also gave the same advice; and, as a final argument, Cochelet quoted the words of the Emperor Alexander, who said that he was going to Navarre to see Hortense, if she did not come to Malmaison. Hortense was thus made to believe that her fortune, and, what she held even more precious, the future custody of her children, depended upon her taking this course. In the end, she was over-persuaded, and she was to pay dearly for reposing any confidence in the promises of the Bourbons.

On the 12 April, when Joséphine had already decided to leave, Hortense still clung to her original plan. She said that the Czar might be friendly to her, and formerly she had been curious to see him, but now she did not care to know him; "was he not their conqueror?"

On the 13th, Hortense dismissed her household; and, the following morning, she set out for Rambouillet, to rejoin the Empress Marie-Louise, who had formerly displayed great affection for her. But her reception was very cold: Marie-Louise was on the point of leaving for her native Austria, and Hortense felt herself *de trop;* so she took her leave. She could not return to Navarre, where the house had been closed, so nothing remained for her to do except to join her mother at Malmaison. It so happened that Alexander had called that day, to see Joséphine, and Hortense arrived with her children at the moment that he was leaving. She was polite to the Czar,

and nothing more; she remained "very cold, very dignified; she made no response to the offers which he made her for her children." At first, Alexander was rather piqued; but soon his pride was aroused, and he determined to overcome a resistance to which he was not accustomed. He came again and again to Malmaison, and paid many attentions to the Queen, who repulsed all his advances, refused all his offers of service, and led him on, like the consummate coquette that she was. In the end, however, Alexander overcame her resistance, either because she came to appreciate his many delicate attentions, or because she realized that it was good policy for her to be on favorable terms with the one who at that moment was the real arbiter of Europe. She had already received many acts of kindness from the Czar: the Swedes had been compelled to evacuate her Paris hôtel, and General Sacken had given orders to repair her stables. Thus far, she had said nothing to Alexander about her brother; but Joséphine, who was anxious to have Eugène assured of the advantages promised him under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, had spoken to the Czar on the subject, and had written her son, to urge him to come at once to Paris.

On receiving his mother's letter, Eugène made his preparations to go to Paris. Leaving at Munich his wife, who was not yet recovered from the fatigue of her journey from Mantua, he set out the first week in May, and reached Malmaison early on the 9th. He had announced his visit in advance to the King, "for," he wrote his wife, "I could on no account arrive in Paris without first presenting myself to him; thus, I had hardly embraced my mother before I received the authorization to present myself at the Tuileries."

He went directly from Malmaison, to pay his homages to the King, who "received him perfectly, and asked news of his wife, with much interest." At the Tuileries, he saw the Comte d'Artois, and his son, the Duc de Berry. The following day, he went to call on the allied sovereigns who were still at Paris.

The editor of the memoirs of Prince Eugène is authority for

AUGUSTA OF BAVARIA

the statement that he was announced at the Tuileries as the "Marquis de Beauharnais," but Hortense expressly denies this, in a letter written in 1818 to General de Vaudoncourt. She said that, (1) no one was announced to the King; (2) this was not his title; and that, (3) all titles having been recognized by the Charter, he had no reason to abandon that of Prince Eugène, "which he had won, which he had rendered illustrious, and which nothing had forced him to quit." [3]

At Paris, Eugène found himself launched in the society which frequented the salons of his mother and his sister. On the 14 May, Hortense gave at Saint-Leu a lawn-party, at which were present, the Empress Joséphine, the Emperor Alexander, Prince Eugène, the Duc de Vicence, and the wife of Marshal Ney. The weather was chilly, and Joséphine, who was very lightly dressed, took cold. This was the beginning of her final illness, which was to carry her off two weeks later. In the evening she descended for dinner, clad in one of her lightest décolleté gowns. After breakfast the following morning she returned to Malmaison.

Monday, the 23 May, the King of Prussia came to call at Malmaison, and remained for dinner. He was accompanied by his two sons, one of whom was to be the future German Emperor, William the First. The following day Joséphine had to receive the two Russian grand dukes. Alexander came to dinner in the evening, and attended the ball, which he opened with Joséphine. After dancing, they promenaded in the park, and she took more cold.

On Wednesday, the Empress was worse, but neither Eugène nor Hortense was seriously disturbed. He wrote Augusta that day: "Our mother has been suffering for two days, and this morning has considerable fever; the doctor says that it is only catarrh, but I do not think she is at all well." The following night her physician found her tongue affected and her whole head congested, and applied a blister to her neck.

Friday, the 27 May, Alexander was to have dined with Joséphine for the last time before leaving for London. On his

[3] See also, Hortense, 2 *Mémoires*, 227, note.

arrival, he found both the Empress and Eugène ill in bed, and only Hortense able to receive him.

Saturday, the illness of Joséphine became so grave that there was a consultation of physicians. Eugène wrote Augusta that he did not think his mother would live through the day.

The following morning, which was Whit Sunday, the 29 May, it was evident that Joséphine was dying. Hortense called Eugène, and at noon she expired in their arms. According to legend, her last delirious words were: "Napoleon! . . . Elba!" Just before her death the sacraments were administered by the Abbé Bertrand, tutor of Hortense's children, as Joséphine's almoner was absent.[4]

On Monday the body was embalmed and placed in a lead coffin enclosed in oak. Thursday, the 2 June, the funeral took place, and the coffin was borne with full military honors to the church at Rueil. The tomb of Joséphine, of white marble, is at the right hand of the choir, and bears the kneeling figure of the Empress in her coronation robes, after the painting by David. The inscription runs simply:

A

JOSEPHINE

EUGENE ET HORTENSE

1825

Two hours after the death of their mother, Eugène and Hortense went to Saint-Leu, and were not present at the funeral. Although they sent out the usual formal notices to all of the sovereigns and princes then at Paris, they do not seem to have included Napoleon, or any member of the Bonaparte family.[5]

[4] The death certificate of Josephine, following the *Almanach impérial,* gives the date of her birth as the 24 June 1768, which would make her only 11 years old at the time of her first marriage. In reality, she was born on the 23 June 1763.

[5] The excuse of Hortense, for not sending the Emperor news of the death of Joséphine, was that a courier sent by Caulaincourt had just left, and it was impossible to secure permission to send another. (See 2 Hortense, 353.)

The Emperor first heard the news through a paper sent him from Genoa by a valet whom he had despatched to France, charged with messages for several persons, including Joséphine herself. He was profoundly afflicted, on receiving the report, and shut himself up in his room.

Aside from her two châteaux of Malmaison and Pregny, and her fine collection of jewels, Joséphine's estate was very small. Eugène received Malmaison, and assumed the payment of her debts, while Pregny and half of her jewels went to Hortense. When the estate was finally settled, the share of each of her two children amounted to over two million francs.[6]

Under the terms of the donation to the Empress, at her death Navarre passed to Eugène, and from him to his eldest son, Auguste. In 1834, ten years after his father's death, this prince married the Queen of Portugal, but died at Lisbon a few months later. He was succeeded as Duc de Navarre by his brother Maximilian, who had married a daughter of the Emperor Nicholas of Russia. On the death of Maximilian in 1852 the title was claimed by his eldest son, Prince Nicholas, but the Government of Napoleon the Third refused its assent, on the ground that, as an alien, he could not take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor of the French. It was thus that the grandson of Prince Eugène was deprived of his inheritance by his own cousin, and by virtue of a clause in the original grant from Napoleon to Joséphine which four successive Governments of France had neglected to invoke! But long before this date the estate of Navarre had been sold by the heirs of Eugène, and the proceeds, over a million francs, invested in French securities.

The day following the death of her mother, Hortense received a visit from Alexander, who called prior to his departure to express his sympathy. To Hortense, he displayed "a friendly and respectful tenderness"; to Eugène, "an almost brotherly cordiality." Before leaving, the Czar handed Hortense a draft of the act which he had secured from the Royal

[6] See Appendix N.

Government, which assured her advantages even greater than those stipulated in the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Her estate of Saint-Leu was to be erected into a duchy, with an assured income of four hundred thousand francs — the sum granted her under the treaty — with right of succession to her sons.

But when it came to drawing up the letters patent, a difficulty arose about the name. The Government was not willing to designate Hortense as Madame Louis Bonaparte, and proposed the form of *Mademoiselle de Beauharnais!* To this, Hortense strenuously objected. After many conferences, it was finally decided that the form should be "Madame Eugénie-Hortense de Beauharnais, designated in a Convention made the 11 April last."[7] This form was accepted by Hortense.

In assuming this title of Duchesse de Saint-Leu, Hortense, at a later date, pretended that, "she was then ignorant of the fact that her husband, who was always called the King of Holland or King Louis, even after his abdication, had for his part taken the title incognito of *Comte de Saint-Leu.*" But this is incredible: Louis had written to his mother, Decazes, and Lavalette, "It is the only name and title that I bear"; the Emperor was aware of the fact; and Louis's elder son, as well as the governesses, had always written him under this name. By this Royal act, therefore, Louis was deprived of his estate, of the control of his children, and even of the name he had assumed, which Hortense was to bear with a title superior to the one he had given himself. Is it strange, under the circumstances, that Louis was confirmed in his resolution to demand a judicial separation, and the custody of his elder son?

Eugène, who had been detained in Paris nearly a month by his mother's death, was now in haste to leave. Without awaiting the settlement of Joséphine's affairs, he gave a general power-of-attorney to Saulange-Bodin, on the 15 June, and paid his visits of adieu. He was well pleased with the results of his visit, and was looking forward to seeing his sister soon at the baths at Baden, where she talked of going, to regain her health. He left Paris on the 24 June, and travelled directly to Munich.

[7] The full text is cited, 10 Masson, 148–149.

When Marie-Louise passed through the city a little later, on her way to Aix, even she was scandalized at the gaiety of his life, and the disregard for the mourning for his mother.

Notwithstanding her anxiety over the projects of her husband, and her grief at the sudden loss of her mother, Hortense soon began to receive her friends informally, and her salons were shortly crowded with her old friends, besides many strangers who sought an introduction. The society which she received was very mixed: to her formal dinners, she invited not only the friends of Napoleon, but also his declared enemies, such as Pozzo di Borgo, who more than any one man in Europe was responsible for the downfall of the Emperor. But, in this case, Hortense had her ends to gain, and she asked favors of Pozzo which considerably embarrassed him. Therefore he did not go again to Saint-Leu.

For her baths, Hortense had first chosen Aix-en-Savoie, but she was advised by her friends at Court not to go there on account of the expected visit of Marie-Louise. She therefore decided to go to Plombières, the favorite resort of her mother. Armed with a passport in the name of Mme. de Pregny, she left Saint-Leu on the 25 July. But she had hardly been at Plombières a week when an aide de camp of her brother arrived with an invitation from himself, and her cousin, the Grand Duchess of Baden, to join them at Baden.

She arrived there on the 10 August, and was met by her brother on horseback, who invited her to share his apartment. The Congress of the Sovereigns was then assembled at Baden, and it was impossible to find rooms either in the hotels or in private houses. There was a regular gathering of crowned heads, including the Empress of Russia, the Queen of Bavaria, the Queen of Sweden, the Princess Amélie of Baden, and the Hereditary Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, all of whom were granddaughters of the old Margrave of Baden. Eugène's wife, the Princess Augusta, was well received on account of the presence of her father, the King of Bavaria; and they could not very well ignore Stéphanie de Beauharnais, because she was at home; but her husband, the Grand Duke Charles of Baden,

rarely appeared, because he could not endure the coldness which was shown to his wife.

Hortense was well received by every one: she dined with the Czarina, the King of Bavaria, and the Grand Duke. After a stay of a fortnight, she wrote Alexander a long and interesting letter, in very familiar terms, in which she recounted all of the gossip of the spa.[8]

On the 28 August, Hortense left Baden to return home. Her brother, on horseback, accompanied her to the end of the first post. He then went to Munich, where he stayed a month, before setting out on the 25 September for the Congress at Vienna. While separated from Hortense, he wrote frequently, and from his letters, joined to those of Hortense to Alexander, we can obtain a good idea of her feelings at this time.

Arriving home on the 30 August, Hortense remained only a week at Saint-Leu before departing for Havre, leaving her children at home as before. As she had neglected to reserve rooms at the hotel, she considered herself fortunate to secure accommodations in a small house where, by a strange coincidence, she had lodged for a short time with her mother, when as a child of five years she accompanied Joséphine on that trip to Martinique which has always remained a mystery for her biographers.[9]

At the end of twelve days, during which she took half a dozen baths in the ocean, Hortense returned to Saint-Leu, where she resumed her usual life: visits, receptions, informal dinners, music, promenades. Feeling that she was now under the Royal protection, she seemed to have no further anxiety regarding the threats of Louis, now five months old, to sue for a legal separation and the custody of his elder son, Napoleon-Louis.

As early as the 20 April Louis had addressed to Hortense a formal letter in which he stated that he was determined to bring an action for a legal separation; following that, they could both

[8] Quoted in full, 10 Masson, 157–159.
[9] See *Napoleon and Josephine,* 24–25.

petition the Supreme Pontiff for the dissolution of their religious bonds. At the same time Louis forwarded a copy of his letter to Decazes, whom he charged to obtain a reply. Having received no answer from Hortense, on the 15 May Louis again wrote Decazes, and said that if Hortense did not reply he would be forced to begin an action. He was still without any response when he learned of the creation of the duchy of Saint-Leu, and its dotation, by the King. This news profoundly afflicted Louis, both in his pride and in his paternal affection. As this act seemed to be based upon the provisions of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Louis signed before a notary of Lausanne, on the 18 June, a formal protest, in which he refused in his own name and in that of his children to accept any of the benefits of the treaty of the 11 April.

Decazes finally wrote that he had had an interview with the Queen, who said that she did not wish a divorce, but would accede to the King's demands, provided he would allow her to keep her children, and leave her in possession of Saint-Leu and the Paris hôtel. Louis took a month for reflection, and then wrote Decazes that he was unwilling to buy his liberty at so dear a price. Then, evidently feeling that Decazes was pleading the cause of the Queen too warmly, he wrote two weeks later and took the matter out of his hands. Having learned of the trip of Hortense to Baden, leaving her children behind her, he had finally decided to assert his legal rights, and claim his elder son. On the 28 August, the same day that Hortense left Baden, Louis formally announced his decision in a letter to her from Baden in Switzerland. He ended his letter with the statement that if she did not reply he should consider her silence as a refusal.

There then followed an exchange of letters, in which Hortense pleaded her case very adroitly, but failed to shake the resolution of her husband. The last of September, she received at Saint-Leu a visit from an emissary of her husband, M. Briatti, who came in the name of the father to claim the elder boy. He announced that this was Louis's last act before taking legal action.

Hortense again refused, and, realizing the weakness of her legal case, immediately wrote the Czar to demand his assistance. At the same time she solicited an audience with the King, who received her on the 3 October. Alexander and Louis the Eighteenth both expressed their warm regard and sympathy for her, but stated that they could not interfere with the action of the law.

Hortense then retained a formidable array of counsel, all of whom were noted for their Royalist sentiments and their hostility to the Bonapartes. These were, first of all, Bellart, who on the first of April 1814 had denounced Napoleon as the worst oppressor of the human race; also, Roux-Laborie, the secretary of the Provisional Government, who had procured the appointment of Maubreuil; Chauveau-Lagarde, the defender of Marie-Antoinette; Bonnet, the defender of Moreau; and Desèze, the defender of Louis the Sixteenth.[10]

Louis selected for his counsel Maître Tripier, the leader of the Paris bar, a man whose politics were absolutely unknown. Under the instructions from his client, Tripier was to make his fight on legal grounds only, and not to go into any outside questions. This terrain was not calculated to please Hortense, who had no legal defence, and could hope to win only upon sentimental considerations. A *Note upon the intimate life of Madame la duchesse de Saint-Leu and upon the education given by her to her children,* which she furnished her principal attorney, clearly reveals the grounds upon which she expected to contest the action. This *Note* presented the private virtues of the duchesse in the most flattering light.

The case finally came up on the 7 January 1815 before the Tribunal of the Seine, presided over by M. Try. Tripier, in opening his argument, took his stand firmly on Article 373 of the Civil Code, which defined the marital and paternal powers. He avoided, so far as possible, any reference to the name and the rank of his client.

[10] As usual, M. Masson accuses Hortense, in her choice of counsel, of lack of fidelity to the Emperor, but this charge is too absurd to merit serious consideration.

The first words of the pleading of Bonnet, at the session of the 19 January, showed that he wished to conduct the case on entirely different lines. "M. de Saint-Leu," he said, "has abdicated his native land; he is a fugitive; he is a cosmopolitan; sometimes he lives at Gratz in Styria, sometimes at Lausanne; to-day he resides at Rome, while Madame la duchesse de Saint-Leu is domiciled in France, and keeps the conjugal home, the hôtel formerly purchased by her husband."

He then went on to speak of the erection of the duchy of Saint-Leu, and its dotation by the King: "What can we think of this indiscreet claim which tends to make a stranger of the young Duc de Saint-Leu? . . . Can he be taken from his mother, his country, his King? Must he follow Louis Bonaparte in the *milieu* of his exile, his wandering life, his cosmopolitanism? . . . Our legitimate Sovereign has invested Napoleon-Louis with a dignity; it was his intention that Napoleon-Louis should remain a Frenchman."

The Paris journals gave long reports of the court proceedings, and nearly all took the side of the Queen. The court-room was crowded at every session by the élite of Parisian society, and even the lawyers in the case found difficulty in finding an entrance. At the session of the 10 February, "the crowd was extraordinary," and the ushers had to call for an armed force to reëstablish order.

Hortense was full of confidence, and guarded a magnificent sang-froid. It was the general opinion that the decision would be in her favor; but both she and the public were mistaken. On the 8 March the Tribunal rendered a verdict in favor of Louis:

"The Tribunal orders that, in three months counting from this day, the elder son of the Comte de Saint-Leu and the Duchesse de Saint-Leu shall be restored to the Comte de Saint-Leu with a view to the execution of the present judgment."

But the Government of his Majesty Louis the Eighteenth had other things to do than to execute the judgment of the Sixth Chamber of the Tribunal of the Seine. On the same day, the

8 March, the Emperor Napoleon, who had landed at Fréjus just a week before, was reviewing his troops at Grenoble, on his way to Paris. In twelve days more he would reënter the Tuileries in triumph, and Hortense would be the first to welcome him! [11]

[11] For a very full abstract of the proceedings of this interesting case, see 10 Masson, 185–204. See also 2 Hortense, 284, *et seq.*

CHAPTER FIFTY-EIGHT

MAY — DECEMBER 1814

THE FAMILY IN EXILE

MADAME — She Sells Her Paris Hôtel — Her Furniture Shipped to Rome — Her Plan to Visit Napoleon at Elba

JOSEPH — He Purchases Prangins — His Lavish Hospitality — Suspicions of the French Government — Arrival of Julie — She Is Sent Back to Protect Mortefontaine

LUCIEN — He Returns to Rome in Triumph — He Is Created Prince of Canino — His Coat of Arms — Napoleon's Letter — Arrival of Alexandrine — Publication of *Charlemagne*

LOUIS — He Issues a New Edition of *Marie* — His Visit to Swiss Baden — Severe Attack of Rheumatism — Prophetic Remarks Regarding Napoleon — His Visit to Rome

JEROME — He Leases Ekensberg — Visit from Élisa — Catherine's Diamonds — Birth of Élisa's Son — Catherine at Trieste — Birth of Her Son — Jérôme's Extravagance — His Furniture at Paris Confiscated — His Estates Saved

PAULINE — She makes a Brief Visit to Elba — She Purchases an Estate — Sails for Naples — Her Finances — Sale of Her Hôtel Charost to the English Government — Her Other Property Confiscated — Her Return to Elba

ON HER arrival in Rome on the 14 May, as we have already seen, Madame took up her residence with her brother in the Palazzo Falconieri; but she had no intention of living with Fesch, and she immediately looked for a hôtel of her own. She had little confidence that her allowance under the Treaty of Fontainebleau would be paid, and as little hope that her private property in France would be respected. She had not forgotten the wanton destruction of her château of Pont, and she decided to liquidate her hôtel at Paris as soon as possible.

Fortunately an opportunity presented itself, of which she took advantage. In mounting the throne of his ancestors, one of the first thoughts of Louis was to restore to his faithful followers such part of their former property as was still in the

hands of the State. Thus, the Duc d'Havre resumed possession of the Hôtel de Rohan-Rochefort, Rue de Varenne, which had belonged to him before the Revolution, and which since then had housed the Minister of War. This left General Dupont without any habitation at Paris, and he entered into negotiations with the agent of Madame to acquire the Hôtel de Brienne, Rue Saint-Dominique, which she had purchased from Lucien, and occupied after his exile. Dupont had no difficulty in securing the approval of the King to the lease or purchase of this hôtel for the "personal habitation of the Minister of War and the establishment of a part of his bureaux."

It only remained to fix the price, and Madame showed herself a shrewd bargainer. Dupont offered 600,000 francs; Madame demanded 800,000. The minister told Rossi, Madame's agent, that she would be sorry if she did not yield, but she refused to take less, and it was the minister who gave way. He also wished to acquire the magnificent furniture and decorations of the hôtel, but no funds were available for the purpose; so Madame ordered nearly everything crated and shipped to Rome, for the new palace which she intended to purchase. A few articles, only, were set aside, to be sent to Elba, where it was her fixed intention to pass a few months each year with her son Napoleon. It was one of the fine traits of Madame that she always clung to the one who was in trouble.

While Madame and her brother were residing peacefully at Rome, nearly all the other members of the family were the objects of a stupid persecution on the part of the Bourbons.

After a long search in the environs of Geneva, Joseph had decided to purchase the château of Prangins, situated on the shore of Lake Geneva, about fifteen miles from the city. It was a vast construction, built in the form of a quadrilateral, with a square tower at each angle. Under the contract, which was signed on the 27 July 1814, he paid 94,500 Swiss francs for the property, which he immediately augmented by the purchase of several adjoining parcels. Surrounding the château there

was a park, with fine old trees; and there were vineyards on the hills which sloped back to the neighboring mountains. From the terrace, with its fortress-like walls, there was a magnificent view of the range of Mont Blanc, across the lake.

As soon as he was installed, Joseph, who was of a very hospitable nature, began to entertain friends from Geneva. He welcomed Jérôme and Catherine, as they passed through; and he received Marie-Louise, on her way to Aix. "He conducted her," says Méneval, "to Prangins, where she received the elegant hospitality which distinguished the master of the agreeable abode."

The coming and going of Joseph's friends was noted and reported by a lot of amateur spies, who were hostile to the Bonapartes. They pretended that the passage of Marie-Louise was greeted with cries of *Vive Napoléon!* and "outrages against the august family of France." They commented on the fact that Joseph had visited all the houses in the village, and left at each place a piece of twenty francs, which could only be with the object of creating partisans! He was also accused of carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the Emperor at Elba. Therefore, Talleyrand issued orders to the representative of the King that, "without presenting any note, he should engage the deputies of the Canton of Vaud to notify Joseph Bonaparte of their desire that he leave the canton." To this communication, Joseph replied that he was living quietly at Prangins, engaged in no intrigues, and that he asked only to be allowed to end his days tranquilly in this hospitable retreat.

Then, Joseph went to Zurich, to present his remonstrances to the ministers of the Powers; and, during his absence, Julie arrived. After a visit to Paris, she had gone early in July to Mortefontaine, where she was joined by her sister Désirée. The middle of August, still in the company of her sister, she went to Vichy, where she took the waters under the surveillance of the police. Julie protested to her former chamberlain, Jaucourt, who was in charge of the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, during the absence of Talleyrand at Vienna. Jaucourt referred the matter to his chief, who replied that the Government had

only the most kindly feelings for Julie personally, but her husband had acted in such a way as to attract the attention of the authorities both of Switzerland and of France. So Julie felt constrained to rejoin her husband.

Joseph presented his case so well to the Russian and Austrian ministers at Zurich that the Swiss deputies refused to prevent his return to Prangins.

The latter part of December, Joseph learned that, under date of the 18th, the French Government had sequestered all of the property of the Bonaparte family, and he sent Julie back to Paris to try and have Mortefontaine, at least, released. She stayed with her sister, the Crown Princess of Sweden; but all of her efforts were without result. Joseph then wished her to return, but she was detained in Paris by the grave illness of her mother, who was nearly eighty years of age. Under the circumstances, Désirée succeeded, with considerable difficulty, in having the presence of her sister tolerated by the Government.

The return of Lucien to Rome was triumphal. While his brothers, the kings of yesterday, were wandering over Europe, everywhere treated with suspicion, he came back to the Eternal City, to find his palaces, his villas, his gallery, all intact; and to change his vain title of senator for the more pompous one of prince. "My affairs here are turning out very well," he wrote Campi on the 19 June; "the Pope is overwhelming me with precious acts of kindness; I am going to take the title of Roman prince and the name of one of my estates."

The Pope had not forgotten that, in his days of distress, Lucien had come to his assistance, with the offer of his fortune. Against the advice of his counsellors, he was determined to show his gratitude by making Lucien a prince. He displayed great consideration also for Madame, Fesch, and even for Napoleon, who had treated him so badly. His policy was viewed with much disfavor at Paris, where the *Journal des Débats* said: "Honors accorded this family are an offence to the entire world. Through their conduct, Lucien and Louis have the greatest rights to indulgence, but it is an outrage to

all honorable sentiments and the public conscience to confer titles upon them."

The text of the brevet stated that, "Taking into consideration the loyal and sincere attachment which Lucien Bonaparte has constantly shown for the Saint-Siège, and particularly for my person," . . . the Holy Father had elevated the estate of Canino to the honor and title of a principality, which title he conferred upon Lucien Bonaparte, and his legitimate descendants in the male line.

There remained to be settled the question of the arms to be borne by the new prince. Fortunately, Madame thought of the *blason des armes* which her husband, Charles, had obtained at Pisa, and used to procure the entrance of Napoleon at Brienne and of Marianna (Élisa) at Saint-Cyr. Fortunately also, Madame found among her possessions a small silver spoon engraved with the arms, which she sent Lucien on the 19 September. How happy she was that M. du Rosel de Beaumanoir had declined the proposition she made him, so many years before, to sell her silver in order to repay him the twenty-five louis which Charles had borrowed, to meet his expenses to France in 1784! [1]

Naturally, the letters B. P., which signified *Buona Parte,* were suppressed; and the count's coronet was too petty for a Roman prince, so Lucien placed above his arms an Antique crown. This was all that he guarded of his former pseudonym of Brutus!

The reports of the Royal police that Lucien had become reconciled with the Emperor, and proposed to visit him at Elba, were without the slightest foundation. Nevertheless, he had written Napoleon a deferential letter, probably at the request of his mother. This is evident from the note Napoleon handed Bertrand on the 17 July: "Write to my brother Lucien that I have received his letter of the 11 June, and that I am sensible to the feelings which he expresses regarding myself; that he need not be surprised at receiving no reply from me as I write to no one."

[1] See Vol. I, pages 8 and 12.

In the meantime, Alexandrine was becoming impatient to rejoin her husband in Rome, and participate in his good fortune. During the month of July she visited London with her daughter by her first husband, Anne-Alexandrine, and purchased robes for them both. She left at Thorngrove her four children by Lucien, two girls and two boys. Even in her youth she had been inclined to embonpoint; now, at the age of thirty-six, she had become enormous, and had lost much of her early beauty. She took great pride in writing her family, and signing herself ALEXANDRINE, PRINCESSE DE CANINO.

Returning to Thorngrove on the 6 August, she remained only long enough to make her last preparations, and to give a final fête to the middle-class people of the neighborhood whom she knew. She landed at Ostende on the 22d, with her children, her horses and carriages, and her servants in startling liveries. By way of the Rhine and Switzerland she reached Italy, and arrived in Rome about the middle of October. She was cordially welcomed by the Pope, and was well received by Roman society.

When, in the autumn, *Charlemagne* was simultaneously published in London, Paris, and Rome, with its dedication, by permission, to His Holiness Pius the Seventh, all Europe could see in what high regard the Prince de Canino was held by the head of the Church. It was in vain that the *Journal des Débats* said: "The name of the author, his bizarre destiny during the long prosperity of his brother, the choice of the subject, all are calculated to attract the attention of the public, but we strongly doubt that the curiosity vividly excited can be long sustained by the literary merit of the work."

Louis had remained in Swizerland longer than he first intended, on account of his negotiations with Hortense. He gave much time to a revision of his romance, which he proposed to issue in a new edition, under the title of *Marie, ou les Hollandaises*. The back of the bastard title-page contained the announcement: "This work is the same as that of which the

first edition appeared under the title of *Marie, ou les Peines de l'Amour*. The author, who has retouched and augmented it, has desired to change the title. This edition is the only one that he avows."

But this edition was anonymous, and the success of the book depended entirely upon the name of the author. In the matter of authorship, Louis was fully as vain as Lucien, but he did not understand advertising as well as his brother. Taking advantage of this modesty on the part of the author, an unscrupulous publisher in the Palais-Royal reprinted the Gratz edition, without corrections or additions, and with the name of Louis on the title page. "Not only has he put my name in full," wrote Louis, "but he has written it wrongly. My name is Louis Bonaparte and not Buonaparte." Besides, the name which he had adopted four years before, and by which he wished to be known, was Louis de Saint-Leu. So he ordered his publisher to issue a third edition, in which his name appeared as Saint-Leu.

Leaving Lausanne the last of June, Louis went to Baden, in Switzerland, to take the thermal baths, which he had not previously tried. Among the many Badens in Europe, this one was celebrated for its antiquity. It had been known to the Romans under the name of *Aquæ Helvitiæ*. During his sojourn there, Louis had the honor of paying his respects to Marie-Louise, who passed through on her way to Aix-en-Savoie. This did not fail to attract the attention of the French police, and Louis was annoyed by their surveillance during the remainder of his residence in Switzerland.

Louis's negotiations with Hortense had not resulted in her sending him his son, as he had hoped, so he finally decided to leave for Rome. En route, he was laid up for several days by an acute attack of rheumatism at Payerne, where Méneval, on his way from Prangins to Berne, found him in bed in an inn, lonely and miserable. During the hour which Méneval passed beside his bed, Louis spoke of the recent events with a vivid regret, and of his brother Napoleon with real affection. Méneval states that Louis was still under the sad impression of the

attempt at suicide which the Emperor had made at Fontainebleau, and he judged, by this desperate action, of the extent of Napoleon's despair. He said that Heaven, which had not permitted such a misfortune, without doubt reserved his brother for a new glory, but also for new trials. His statement, which was almost prophetic in its penetration of the veil of the future, shows the fine mind which Louis really possessed, when he was free from his morbid hallucinations.

Arriving in Rome on the 23 September, Louis "descended at the palace of S. E. le prince de Canino, his brother." Two days later he was presented by Cardinal Fesch to the Pope, who greeted him with extreme kindness. His mother, who had left two months before for Elba, was no longer in Rome, but he found his uncle very affable. He passed more time in his orisons than the cardinal himself, and very rarely appeared in society: it seemed to be his desire to remain unnoticed.

Jérôme and Catherine arrived on the 16 June at the château of Ekensberg, which the King had leased for six months. It was a large building, situated about a mile from Gratz. Here Jérôme took the title of Comte de Harz, from an estate in Westphalia.

Soon after their arrival they received a visit from Élisa, who travelled under the name of Comtesse de Compignano. She had hardly left Bologna before she learned that the Austrians had sequestered her property in Lucca and Piombino. Although enceinte seven months, she proposed to go herself to Vienna to place her complaints before the Emperor; but before she reached the capital she was notified that she could not come nearer than Gratz or Laybach. She therefore decided to visit Jérôme.

Jérôme had not yet given up the hope of recovering the diamonds, and there are some grounds for believing that, by a payment of 400,000 francs to Maubreuil, he finally succeeded. But this is one of those mysterious affairs which has never been cleared up: it was a case of negotiations between a thief and

his victims, and there was every reason, on both sides, for preserving the secret.[2]

After a stay of a month, Élisa became tired of the monotonous life at the château, and on the 3 August she obtained from the director of the police at Gratz passports to return to Bologna, where her husband had fitted up a home for them. Jérôme offered to escort her, and they set out together. When the travellers were about ten miles from Palmanova, Élisa was taken with the first pains of childbirth. Fortunately her brother found accommodations for her in a neighboring mansion: this, by a remarkable coincidence, was the château of Passariano, where General Bonaparte had lodged when he was negotiating the treaty of Campo-Formio in 1797. On the 10 August, Élisa gave birth to a son, to whom she gave the names of Frédéric-Napoléon,[3] from Queen Catherine, whose name of Frédérique was the only one which could be masculinized.

Jérôme proceeded to Trieste, and from there sent orders to Catherine to join him. She was nearly at the end of her term, but she did not hesitate to obey. On the 17 August she left the château, which they had hired for six months and occupied for sixty days, and reached Trieste on the 20th. Jérôme had already leased near the sea one of the finest houses in the city, and was ready to receive Catherine on her arrival. Here she gave birth on the 24 August to a son, who was named Jérôme-Napoleon-Charles.[4]

Catherine, who was very ill, and in constant danger, for ten days, was cared for with the greatest devotion by Élisa, who did not leave for Bologna until her sister-in-law was entirely recovered, about the middle of September. Soon after her re-

[2] See 10 Masson, 232 *et seq.*

[3] He died at Rome the 7 April 1833 from the fall of his horse.

[4] His uncle, King William of Würtemberg, took charge of him in 1832; he received a military education, and entered the Army, where he rose to the rank of colonel. He died on the 12 May 1847, of spinal trouble, at a villa near Florence. He was known as the Prince de Montfort, and was an elder brother of Prince Napoleon, the grandfather of the young Prince Louis-Napoleon who is the present head of the Bonaparte family.

turn, the Emperor Francis ordered delivered to Élisa all the property to which she had made claims.

Although he was very comfortably installed in one of the most charming mansions of Trieste, Jérôme was not content, and he made repeated efforts to obtain passports to go to Rome. There, he wished to secure a palace, entirely furnished, at as low a rental as possible; for, as he wrote Lucien, "I shall consider myself lucky if, by selling my diamonds and other objects, I can assure myself of 250,000 francs of income." Having obtained no satisfaction, he had Catherine write her father, who was then at Vienna. The King replied, on the 26 October, that he had seen Metternich, and that, to avoid complications, the Emperor wished to have the trip postponed until the close of the Congress.

Fearing that Jérôme might take his departure, the Austrian Government exacted a signed agreement, "upon his word of honor," that he would not leave Trieste, even for a night, without permission. This led Jérôme to new acts of folly; he bought for 263,000 francs, in the centre of the city, a villa which had been built by a Greek banker; he also acquired another villa, at the gates of the city; and, finally, he entered into negotiations for the purchase, at the high price of 2,640,000 francs, of a *comtal* estate, near Aquilée (Aquila).

To equip so many luxurious houses, Jérôme would have needed all the furniture of his Westphalian palaces, which had been brought to Paris, and already advertised for sale at auction. These articles were valued at more than a million francs. The Comte de Blacas had seen them, and made an offer for the lot of less than 200,000 francs, which naturally was refused. Filleul, the secretary of Jérôme, then became alarmed lest Blacas should use his influence to prevent the public sale, so he had all of the objects packed for shipment from Havre to Leghorn. Then, on the 9 October, the police appeared, and affixed seals on all the cases. Catherine protested to her cousin, the Czar, but the furniture all went the same way as the diamonds. To end the question, on the 18 December the King

ordered sequestered all of the Bonaparte property in France, in absolute violation of the terms of the treaty of the 11 April.

Besides his furniture, and the funds in the hands of his banker, Jérôme owned in France the estates of Stains and of Villandry, for which he had paid 950,000 francs. To save these, his representative, M. de Gail, who had just arrived in Paris, took the responsibility of seeing a M. Hainguerlot, and arranging through him to put the real property beyond the reach of the Government. This man, during the Empire, had been very successful in keeping his property from being seized. All of his real estate was carried in the name of his wife, who, for further security, also employed the name of M. Foignet. Gail rushed to Normandie to see Mme. Hainguerlot, and in twenty-four hours the affair was arranged. On the 24 December the deal was concluded between the "Sieur Lanthois" (Jérôme) and the "Sieur Foignet" (Mme. Hainguerlot). The seals were placed that very day on the property of Louis Bonaparte, and were to have been attached on the 27th upon the property of Jérôme. "Our two estates have been saved," wrote Catherine; and for the moment, at least, this seemed to be true.

When Napoleon saw Pauline at Le Luc she had expressed her desire of joining him as soon as possible at Elba. The Emperor was so much pleased with his treatment by the officers and crew of the *Undaunted,* on which he made his voyage to the island, that he asked Captain Usher to return to Fréjus, and transport his sister to Elba. But when she was notified that the vessel was at her disposition, Pauline was not yet ready to depart. She had been detained by the state of her health, and the necessity of making some final arrangements regarding her affairs at Paris, where she had sent her friend, Baron Duchand, with full powers.

In the end, the princess decided that she must take a course to baths at Ischia before settling at Elba, and she embarked on a Neapolitan frigate, the *Lætitia,* which Murat had sent for her. She was accompanied only by one lady, Mme. de Les-

tang, a sister of her former chamberlain, M. de Forbin, and her physician, Dr. Espiaud. She sailed from Saint-Raphaël, on the 19 May; but the frigate was forced, by stress of weather, to run into Villefranche, and she did not reach Porto-Ferrajo until the first day of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon. She was saluted by twenty-one guns, and was welcomed by the Emperor, who came on board as soon as the vessel dropped anchor. The yards were manned, and he was received with cries of *Evviva il Re!*

Owing to the wretched state of her health, Pauline expressed her wish to sail at once for Naples, without landing; but she finally yielded to the solicitations of the Emperor, and they went ashore at seven o'clock. On landing, they were received by the civil and military authorities, and cheered by the people. The troops were all under arms, and lined the route. They went to the house, called " the palace," where nothing was yet in order, and the Emperor gave up his own apartment to his sister. Overcome with fatigue, Pauline retired immediately after dinner.

The following day, the Emperor presented to her his principal officers, and she occupied herself with a project which she had much at heart. She gave to the grand marshal, Bertrand, a number of stones which she had detached from a necklace during the voyage, and requested him to sell them, for the purpose of buying a house and estate where she could reside. The choice of Bertrand fell upon an estate called San Martino, which was later occupied by Napoleon as a country resort. The price paid, 180,000 francs, was very high for the property. As the Emperor was not decided whether the deed should be in his own name, or in that of the princess or of her husband, the payment was made against a simple receipt. This led later to many complications, as the vendor made a *déclaration de command* [5] in the name of the Emperor.

Pauline took her departure after a stay of exactly twenty-four hours. At seven o'clock she embraced the Emperor on

[5] A legal act by which is made known the name of the real purchaser.

the dock, entered the boat, and was rowed out to the frigate, which immediately set sail. Napoleon promenaded up and down the shore for a half-hour, with Colonel Campbell, until his sister was aboard the vessel; then he entered his carriage and returned home.

It has been stated that, "Murat had sent to the Island of Elba the expression of his repentance; also that, in return, Napoleon had charged the Princess Pauline to go to Naples, to carry to Murat, with his pardon, the counsel to be prudent, and to hold himself ready for unexpected events which might still break forth." All of this is most improbable. Napoleon did not send his sister to Naples: she went of her own volition; and, at that time, he had not even thought of the audacious enterprise which he undertook nine months later. The regret of Murat is equally doubtful; but his duplicity was such that one can never be sure of what his ideas really were. His letters to the King of France, and to the Emperor of Austria, at about this same date, render this statement very doubtful.

On her arrival at Naples, Pauline received a very cordial welcome from her sister and Murat. As she was in need of rest, to recover her health, they installed her at La Favorite, where she at once began an extensive correspondence with her intendant at Paris regarding her financial affairs, and all the articles which she wished despatched to her. Her income was her main preoccupation at this time. The Royal Government had not paid her the allowance of 300,000 francs stipulated in the agreement of Fontainebleau, and in fact it never paid any of the revenues promised to the Bonapartes. As her expenses were about 20,000 francs a month, she had already nearly eaten up the 200,000 necklace which she had broken during her voyage. "In two months," she wrote on the 16 July, "I shall no longer have anything." She therefore decided to sell her palaces at Paris and at Neuilly, for each of which she wanted at least 800,000 francs. Her prices were reasonable, but money was scarce, and it was difficult to find purchasers.

The only person who made an offer for the Hôtel Charost was a somewhat mysterious Englishman, by the name of Craw-

ford, who, through the influence of Talleyrand, and perhaps of Joséphine, had succeeded in living peacefully in France after the rupture of the peace of Amiens, when his countrymen were interned or expelled. Not for himself, but for the British ambassadors, he had cast his eyes upon the residence of the princess. After long negotiations between Crawford and Pauline's intendant, Michelot, the new English ambassador, the Duke of Wellington, intervened, and concluded the purchase for the sum of 800,000 francs, in which amount the furniture figured for 300,000, and the hôtel for the balance.

This was nearly all that Pauline saved from her property in France. In December, her estate of Neuilly was confiscated, and the seals were placed on all of her cases at Marseille which had not been shipped to Elba. She had preserved all of her jewelry, however, and this alone constituted a fortune. Like her sisters and her sisters-in-law, she had been wise in placing large sums in this way.

Finding the air at La Favorite too warm, at the end of June Pauline moved to a country mansion nearer to Naples. Here she remained until the last of October, when she embarked on the brig *Inconstant,* and sailed for Elba, under the escort of a Neapolitan frigate. During all this time she had not visited Ischia, as the physicians considered the waters too strong for her present state of health.

CHAPTER FIFTY-NINE

MAY 1814 — FEBRUARY 1815

NAPOLEON AT ELBA

Napoleon's Life at Elba — His Army and Navy — His Occupations — His Residences — Visits from His Mother and Sister — Napoleon's Three Inamoratas — Baseless Charges Regarding Pauline — Napoleon's Visitors — Colonel Campbell — Mme. Walewska — Object of Her Visit — Marie-Louise at Aix — Her Affair with Neipperg — Napoleon's Chagrin — Anxiety Regarding His Finances — Bad Faith of the Royal Government — Plans to Deport or Assassinate the Emperor — Reasons for His Return to France — Visit from Fleury — His Report Decides Napoleon — Preparations for the Expedition — Proclamations to the French People and the Army — The Last Day at Elba — The Departure

WHILE all France was anticipating the early return of the Emperor, on the island of Elba no one had thought of it. There was nothing in Napoleon's talks with his household or his visitors, nothing in his conduct, to indicate that he had any such idea in mind. To read his voluminous correspondence, one would imagine that he contemplated spending the rest of his days in his little empire of twenty thousand acres. Of the nearly 300 letters which he wrote, only the last four have any reference to the expedition.[1]

Landing on the 4 May 1814, within three days Napoleon began to ride all over the island, visiting the mines, inspecting the means of defence, and generally occupying himself with the organization of his new domain. He formed a Cabinet, made up of Bertrand (State), Balbi (Interior), Drouot (War), and Peyrusse (Finance). The command of Porto-Ferrajo was given to Cambronne. He had a little army of about 1600 men, composed of 600 veterans of his Old Guard, who had followed him from France; two local battalions, 800 men; and some 200 miscellaneous troops, of all arms. He had also a small navy, made

[1] Corresp., vol. XXVII.

up of the brig, the *Inconstant,* 16 guns, ceded him by France under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and four other little boats.

On landing, Napoleon had made the remark, "This will be the Isle of Repose"; but, during the first six months, he displayed a feverish activity. He reorganized all of the departments of administration; established a hospital and a theatre; added to the fortifications; planted vineyards; introduced the silkworm; paved the city, provided water, and planted trees. The roads on the island were very few and poor: he had them all put in order, and built five new ones. In this work, he employed not only the laborers of the island, but also his troops. When the soldiers of the Old Guard grumbled, he pinched their ears, and called them his "grognards," but made them work just the same. Some days, he passed six hours at a time in their quarters, tasting their soup, their bread, their wine, and talking familiarly with the men, who all simply idolized their *Petit Caporal.*

Every day, the Emperor took long rides or walks. "Yesterday," wrote Campbell, "after a promenade on foot, under an ardent sun, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, and after having visited the frigates and the transports, he rode for three hours more — *pour se défatiguer,* he told me later." [2]

This need of movement, this difficulty of remaining in one place, may explain the number of Napoleon's habitations on the island. Lodged first at the Hôtel-de-Ville, he soon chose for a residence the so-called Mulini Palace, in the upper town. This small house was put in repair, raised one story, and enlarged on the ground floor by a large room which could serve both for a theatre and a reception room. With the fund provided by Pauline, he purchased the barn called San Martino, and fitted it up for a country residence. In addition to these, he had several other places at which he lived for brief periods of time.

He organized a small Court, with four chamberlains, and other officials; he gave dinners and theatrical performances; in January and February, there were six large balls, of which

[2] Campbell, *Napoleon at Elba,* 243.

three were *bals masqués* (fancy dress). He himself regulated these entertainments, as he had done at the Tuileries, in the most minute detail: the invitations, the supper, and the cost, which was not to exceed one thousand francs.[3]

Madame Mère had rejoined him the first of August, and Pauline came at the end of October. These two princesses, General Bertrand and his wife, Drouot, Cambronne, Pons, Sir Neil Campbell, and two or three others, formed the usual society of the Emperor. There were also numerous visitors to break the monotony: Italian gentlemen, officers of the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and several English peers. Then there was a crowd of adventurers of both sexes, as well as many spies and conspirators.

As formerly at Paris, Pauline, who never feared any rivals, surrounded herself with a galaxy of beautiful women. First of all, there was her dame de compagnie, Mme. Colombani, wife of an Italian major. Then, there was the wife of a Polish major, named Bellina, who was a Spaniard by birth. She was not a great beauty, but possessed much charm. She danced the fandango with a grace which turned all heads. It was she, who, dressed as a man, came to Rambouillet, on the night of the 29 June 1815, to offer to follow the Emperor in his exile.[4]

Finally, there was the Comtesse de Molo, who was the stepdaughter of one of Napoleon's officers, Le Bel. She was a brunette, with a charming figure, pretty hands and feet, infinite grace, and great talents both as a dancer and a musician. Shortly after Napoleon's marriage to Marie-Louise, in 1810, her mother had offered her to the Emperor, and late one evening she was taken at Saint-Cloud to his chamber. After seeing her three or four times, Napoleon broke off the liaison, much to her chagrin. She came to see the Emperor at Fontainebleau, at the time of the abdication, but was not received.

It is quite possible that Napoleon, then aged only forty-five, had affairs at Elba with some or all of these charming women,

[3] Corresp., 21665; Marchand, Campbell, Pons, and others.

[4] She afterwards went to South America, and founded at Lima a large seminary for girls, from which she made a fortune.

who were only too anxious to be "distinguished" by him, as Marchand puts it. But it is absolutely inconceivable that he was intimate with his sister, as claimed by the Royalists. On two occasions, in nearly identical words, he told the story to O'Meara, at Saint Helena: "When I arrived at Paris, after my return from the Island of Elba, I found among the private papers of M. de Blacas a letter written by one of the femmes de chambre of my sister Pauline. . . . M. de Blacas had had this letter falsified by adding abominable stories, even to say that I had slept with my sister; and, on the margin, was written in the hand of the forger: *to be printed.*" [5]

In order to render his isle hospitable, Napoleon gave the order to establish at Porto-Ferrajo "a good inn with twenty master-bedrooms." This was none too much, for there frequently arrived one hundred visitors in a day. Among these, there were very few French, who found it difficult to secure passports; but there were many Italians and English. "The English," wrote Mariotti, the French consul at Leghorn, "have a vivid admiration for Napoleon. They have bought at Florence all his busts in alabaster. All the English captains have his portrait in their cabins." Napoleon had always hated England, whom he considered the most dangerous of the enemies of France; but he was the least vindictive of men, and his feelings did not prevent him from recognizing the power and the energy of the English nation. And, at Elba, the curiosity and the admiration for him, displayed by these visitors, flattered his pride. Therefore, the English visitors were always welcome. He asked Campbell for an English grammar, in order to study the language, and said that, as a last resort, he might end his days in England!

Napoleon had taken a special fancy to Colonel Campbell, the only one of the four commissioners of the Allies who had remained at Elba. He had been specially requested to remain

[5] 1 O'Meara, 248 and 511. With a candor, which does him infinite credit, M. Masson has not hesitated to go to the bottom of this filthy mess; and he has proved, as completely as a negative can ever be proved, that the whole story was an invention of the unspeakable Bourbons. (See 10 Masson, 419–437.)

by the Emperor, who felt that he had need of some medium of communication with the Powers, and that Campbell was well fitted for this rôle. He considered, furthermore, that the presence of the English commissioner was a protection against any attempts upon his life or liberty by the Barbary pirates, or Spain, who had not ratified the Treaty of Fontainebleau. He also preferred the surveillance of an officer and a gentleman, like Campbell, to the presence on the island of a dozen secret spies, who might have replaced him.

During the first months, Napoleon was continually in expectation of the arrival of his wife and son. He imagined that Marie-Louise would divide her time between Parma and Elba. The idea of a permanent separation between them had not entered his head. Accommodations had been provided for her at the Mulini Palace, and at San Martino. He gave orders not to use any fireworks on his fête-day, the 15 August, but to keep them for the arrival of the Empress, whom he expected early in September.[6] Therefore, when a young woman, accompanied by a boy four or five years old, landed mysteriously on the island the first of September, and stayed two days with the Emperor at one of his country places, no one doubted that it was Marie-Louise and her son. "It was a dream," said Peyrusse. "The Emperor returned alone to Porto-Ferrajo. He had received a visit from the Comtesse Walewska."[7]

It will be recalled that in his letter of the 16 April to Marie Walewska, Napoleon had said that, if she went later to the waters of Lucca or of Pisa, he should be glad to see her, as well as her son. But, according to M. Masson, this visit was one of business, and not "une idylle" of love.[8]

Under the Treaty of Bayonne, the Emperor had reserved several domains in the Kingdom of Naples, of which he subsequently granted the principal parts to Fouché (Otrante), Macdonald (Tarente), Gaudin (Gaète), and Régnier (Massa).

[6] Corresp., 21599, 21604.

[7] Peyrusse, 259. See also Campbell, 302–303; Pons, 212, 331; and Masson, *Napoléon et les femmes,* 289–294.

[8] See 10 Masson, 352–355.

What remained formed a *majorat,*[9] constituted the 5 May 1812 in favor of Alexandre-Florian-Joseph, Comte Walewski, and bringing in an annual revenue of about 170,000 francs.

Madame Walewska had learned that Murat proposed to confiscate all these estates, and her visit to Napoleon was made with the view of securing his protection. She carried away, as the fruits of her voyage, a donation from the Emperor of 63,000 francs; but she reached Naples too late to prevent the confiscation of her son's majorat, under Murat's decree of the 15 September. Through the intercession of the Emperor, however, the decree was rescinded on the 30 November, so far as the young Walewski alone was concerned, and a new dotation was made by Murat himself, under the original conditions.

At the period of the abdication, it was the intention of Marie-Louise to rejoin the Emperor; [10] but the Allies had other plans. Napoleon was still so popular in France that they were determined to suppress his dynasty. As her father, the Emperor Francis, and his all-powerful counsellor, Metternich, recoiled before the scandal of a forced divorce, they took measures to alienate gradually the affections of Marie-Louise. They accordingly provided her with a chevalier d'honneur, in the person of Comte de Neipperg. If we may believe Méneval, Neipperg accepted the mission "of making the Empress forget France, and consequently the Emperor, by pushing matters as far as they would go." [11] In other words, he was ordered to win her affections, and become her lover.

The comte was a *vert galant.* Although he was then forty-two years of age, his trim figure, his blond and curly hair, gave him a youthful appearance. Very well-groomed, wearing gracefully the superb uniform of the Hungarian Hussards, a thorough

[9] In France, property, corresponding to the English entailed estate, which was attached to a title, and descended with it inalienably. This principle, abolished during the Revolution, was restored by Napoleon, and finally abolished in 1849.

[10] *Cf.* 2 Bausset, 276–277; 2 Méneval, 93–94. On the other hand, Hortense reports that Marie-Louise said to her: "Do you think that my father wishes to force me to go to the isle of Elba?" (2 Hortense, 209.)

[11] See 2 Méneval, 216, 442; also 434, and 365.

man-of-the-world, he possessed in a supreme degree the distinction and grace of manners to captivate an ignorant young girl like Marie-Louise. He had lost one eye by a sabre cut during the Revolution, but the black bandage, which he wore to conceal this scar, gave him something of a mysterious charm. He was not only a finished soldier, but also an excellent musician, and Marie-Louise was very fond of music. As we have already seen, as minister to Naples in 1813, he had drawn Murat into the fatal Austrian alliance.

During the first part of her stay at Aix, Marie-Louise spent most of her time with Méneval, Bausset, and her French suite; and she saw but little of Neipperg. During this period, also, she exchanged several letters with the Emperor. She hoped not to return to "her exile of Schönbrunn," and asked her father's permission to proceed to Parma. But she was forced to resign herself to returning to Vienna, to await the close of the Congress.[12]

After the departure of Méneval, however, and during the course of her long journey from Aix to Vienna, which lasted the whole month of September, Neipperg took advantage of the intimacy into which they were thrown to press his suit; and if, on her arrival at Schönbrunn, she had not already given herself to Neipperg, she did so a little later.

After leaving Aix, Marie-Louise did not write Napoleon again; and, soon after her return to Vienna, Metternich obtained her promise not to correspond with the Emperor. She even had the impudence to authorize Metternich to state to the Congress that she would not accept the sovereignty of Lucca, because it would bring her too near to Napoleon![13]

In a voice trembling with emotion, the Emperor said to Campbell: "My wife no longer writes me. My son is taken away from me, as formerly the children of the vanquished to ornament the triumph of the conqueror. One cannot cite, in modern times, a parallel act of barbarity.[14]

[12] See 2 Méneval, 178–188; also his report to Napoleon, in French Archives.
[13] 2 Méneval, 233, 236, 238.
[14] Campbell, 297–298.

Another grave source of anxiety to the Emperor was the question of his finances. The total revenues of the Island, from all sources, were about 600,000 francs, while the expenses amounted to over 2,400,000, of which sum the maintenance of the Army and Navy accounted for exactly sixty per cent. This left a deficit of 1,800,000 francs, which Napoleon had to meet out of the 3,800,000 francs which he had brought from France. Thus, at the close of the first year, he would have used up one half of his reserve fund, and another year would find him at the end of his resources.[15]

Article III of the Treaty of Fontainebleau had given Napoleon a revenue of two million francs a year, inscribed on the Grand-Livre of France; but the Royal Government, in spite of the remonstrances of the Czar and of Lord Castlereagh, had constantly refused to meet this obligation. This revenue, upon which Napoleon had counted, would have balanced his budget. In default of this payment, he could not maintain the dignity of his station, nor provide for his own safety; he would be at the mercy of the first assassin who appeared; his honor, his liberty, his very existence would be in peril.

As it has frequently been claimed that the King never ratified the Treaty, and therefore was not bound by it, it may be stated that it was *guaranteed,* on the 11 April, by the Provisional Government, and again, on the 30 May, by Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an official statement, in which he declared, in the name of Louis the Eighteenth, that *" les clauses du traité à la charge de la France seront fidèlement exécutées.*[16]

This declaration of the Prince de Bénévent certainly bound the French Government, both legally and morally. As it was generally believed that the Emperor would remain at Elba only so long as his money lasted,[17] the non-payment of his revenue was not only an act of bad faith, but one of the highest impru-

[15] The figures, in detail, are given in Houssaye, 1 *1815,* 170. (See Note at end of this chapter.)

[16] See 10 Masson, 411; 1 Houssaye, 172, note.

[17] See Campbell, 344.

dence. As a matter of fact, however, the Royal Government calculated that, before that date arrived, the fate of Napoleon would be settled in a definite manner.

At Vienna, Talleyrand and Castlereagh were in accord for the deportation of Napoleon to some island of the Ocean. This project was freely discussed everywhere in Europe, in the salons, in the papers, and in private letters. It was proposed to send him to one of the Azores, to Saint Lucia, or to Saint Helena. In the Congress, Napoleon's only defender was his former ally, Alexander, who declared that it would be an act of bad faith; but this did not deter King Louis, or the Prince Regent, or even the Emperor Francis, who was the first to regret that his son-in-law was not sent farther away from Europe.[18]

In case the Czar refused his assent, and the other Great Powers could not agree upon a plan, several other means were suggested for disposing of the "Corsican Ogre." One was for Spain to send a squadron to seize Elba, and make Napoleon a prisoner; another was to employ the Dey of Algiers, who had kindly offered his services.[19]

Still other schemes were considered. An attempt was made to bribe the commander of the Emperor's brig, the *Inconstant,* to kidnap Napoleon, and transport him to the Isle of Sainte-Marguerite. At Prangins, Joseph heard of a plot to assassinate his brother, and sent the information to Elba. Finally, there is little doubt that the former Chouan leader, Bruslart, was given the command of Corsica for the purpose of making away with the Emperor.[20]

Napoleon was fully aware of these plots. During a promenade with Bertrand, Drouot, and Campbell, he suddenly stopped, and exclaimed, as if talking to himself: "I am a soldier! If they try to assassinate me, I shall bare my breast; but I am not willing to be deported!" Every precaution was taken against attempts at assassination, and the seizure of the island by a *coup de main.*[21]

[18] See 2 Metternich, 473.
[19] See Campbell, 292.
[20] See Campbell, 328; Pons, 160–161.
[21] See 1 Houssaye, 175–176.

It is possible that, even if Napoleon had received the income promised him, and even if he had been permitted the company of his wife and child, he might still have attempted the glorious and fatal enterprise of the Hundred Days; but it must be admitted that his enemies did everything to arouse in him again the instincts of Cæsar. France did not pay the stipulated income; Austria interned his son, and threw his wife into the arms of an ignoble lover; England planned to deport him; and all schemed to imprison or slay him.

In his own statements at Saint Helena, regarding his return from Elba, Napoleon was self-contradictory. On three occasions, he gave as the motives for the expedition: the non-execution of the treaty, the fear of deportation, and the spirit of public opinion in France. At another time he said that these matters " had no influence upon his resolutions." [22]

The truth seems to be that all these matters served only as pretexts for an enterprise upon which he was fully determined. As M. Houssaye puts it: " The deciding cause was the state of France under the Restoration. The primary cause was that the petty sovereign of the Island of Elba was called Napoleon, and that he was forty-five years of age." [23]

Toward the end of the year Napoleon began to show signs of homesickness for France. Campbell, formerly so cordially welcomed at the Mulini, noticed that the Emperor avoided his visits, under various pretexts. He reported these facts to Castlereagh, and said that the Emperor seemed uneasy; " but," he continued, " I persist none the less in my opinion that if Napoleon receives the income stipulated in the treaties, he will remain here perfectly tranquil, except in case of an extraordinary happening in Italy or in France." [24] Whatever vague plans Napoleon may have formed, it is certain that, up to the middle of February, he mentioned them to no one, and made no preparations for his departure. All of the reports from the island attest this fact; and when Campbell left, on the 16

[22] *Cf. Mémorial,* II, 298; III, 411; VI, 485; and 31 Corresp., 225.
[23] 1 Houssaye, 177.
[24] Campbell, 343, 345.

February, for a short visit to Florence, he was far from thinking that he had seen Napoleon for the last time.[25]

Recent researches leave little doubt that Napoleon's final decision was due entirely to information brought him by Fleury de Chaboulon, who, disguised as a sailor, landed secretly from a small felucca on the night of the 12–13 February.

Auditor of the Council of State, and sous-préfet, under the Empire, Fleury had retired upon the return of the Bourbons. About the middle of January, when the discontent in France had come to a climax, Fleury sought an interview with Maret, Duc de Bassano, the most devoted, and also the blindest, of the servants of the Emperor. Fleury announced his intention of seeking Napoleon in Elba, but doubted whether the Emperor would have confidence in him. Then, by way of passport, Bassano revealed a secret, known only to Napoleon and himself, and authorized Fleury to repeat their entire conversation. "But," said Fleury, "if the Emperor asks, 'Is it the moment for me to return to France?'" Maret hesitated a moment, and then said: "I cannot undertake to give so grave a counsel. Expose the situation to the Emperor. He will decide in his wisdom what remains for him to do."

After overcoming difficulties of every kind, Fleury finally reached the island, as above stated, and had a private interview with Napoleon the following day. Announcing himself as the envoy of Bassano, he told all that he knew, all that he supposed, all that he hoped.[26]

Up to that moment, Napoleon had seen no one from France except a few officers, retired or on half-pay, who sought places in his Guard. Without doubt, from other sources he knew what was going on in France, but imperfectly. This was the first precise, complete, authentic information that he had received. It is certain that he had already given much thought to his return to France: otherwise, the words of Fleury would not have decided him. But he was not sure that "the pear was ripe."

[25] *Op. cit.*, 362.

[26] 1 Fleury de Chaboulon, 91–127. *Cf.* Ernouf, 644; 2 Lavalette, 140–141.

The information given him by Fleury de Chaboulon determined him to hasten his departure.

The next day, Napoleon had another talk with Fleury. He made no attempt to conceal the fact that his mind was decided, but he did not reveal his plan of campaign, or the early date of his departure. Fleury left the island that same night, on a felucca which the Emperor had ordered for him, and sailed to Naples, where he procured passports to return to France.

Napoleon immediately made his plans for the expedition, but he gave his orders in such a manner as to conceal his real intentions, even from Drouot, Bertrand, and Peyrusse, up to the last moment.[27] He calculated to leave before the return of Campbell, and therefore fixed the date of sailing at not later than the 26 February. During the night of the 23d to the 24th, an English frigate, the *Partridge,* anchored at Porto-Ferrajo, and threatened for a moment to upset the plans. But the vessel sailed again at noon; and an embargo was at once placed on the sailing of any vessel from the island — even the fishing-boats.

On the 25th, the preparations were continued. Every one now knew that the Emperor intended to leave, and general regret was expressed by the inhabitants. That day the Emperor shut himself up in his palace, and dictated three proclamations, which were secretly printed during the afternoon or evening. The first and second were addressed by the Emperor to the French People and to the Army; the third was a pretended address from the Imperial Guard to the officers and soldiers of the Army.

These proclamations, in the best style of Napoleon, were superbly eloquent. To the people he said: " Frenchmen, I have

[27] One evening, just prior to his departure from Elba, when promenading alone with his mother in the garden, Napoleon said: " France is unhappy; she loses daily all the advantages that I had assured her. What do you think, Mother, of my project? I want to go and deliver her once more." Madame, struck by this news, replied: " Ah! let me be a mother a moment, and I will answer you." Then, recovering from her vivid emotion, she said vehemently: " Yes, go, fulfill your destiny. You were not made to die in this abandoned isle." (2 Hortense, 363–364.)

heard in my exile your plaints and your prayers: you reclaim the government of your choice, which alone is legitimate. I have traversed the seas. I arrive to resume possession of my rights, which are your own." To the army he said: "Soldiers, come and take your places again under the standard of your chief. . . . Victory will march with rapid pace. *The Eagle, with the national colors, will fly from steeple to steeple, even unto the towers of Notre-Dame!*"

It is Sunday, the 26 February. At nine o'clock, the Emperor attends Mass. Then he holds a review of his little army. At eleven o'clock, Cambronne announces that the soldiers will be served their soup at four, and will embark at five. To the National Guard, Napoleon makes a brief address: "I confide to you the defence of the place. I cannot give you a greater proof of my confidence than to leave my mother and my sister under your guard." His face is calm, his look assured; but Bertrand and Drouot appear anxious, his mother and sister are in tears.

Seven o'clock strikes. Napoleon embraces his mother and his sister for the last time, and enters a small carriage, which descends slowly to the port. Bertrand, Drouot, Peyrusse, and his other attendants follow on foot. By the lamps and colored lanterns of the city, which have been spontaneously illuminated, the entire population, massed around the port, can still see the Emperor. He wears his usual green uniform, with the legendary gray redingote. A thousand voices cry, *Viva l'Imperatore!*

There is not a breath of wind, and for several hours the five boats remain at anchor. The moon rises, and lights up the harbor. It is one of those radiant Mediterranean nights, without mists or clouds, when the mountains, the trees, the houses, are reflected in the silvery sea, under the dark blue of the starry heavens.

Finally, a little after midnight, a light wind comes up; the anchors are lifted; the fleet, under full spread of canvas, sails slowly out of the harbor, and fades from view on the high

seas. The Return from Elba — that marvellous adventure, unparalleled in the history of the world — has begun!

NOTE

NAPOLEON'S BUDGET

Receipts

Customs, Taxes, Mines, etc.	606,309 fr.

Expenses

Administration of the Island	145,732 fr.
Buildings, Furnishings, etc.	250,000
Household of the Emperor	590,845
Army and Navy	1,446,309
TOTAL	2,432,886
DEFICIT	1,826,577

Cash

On hand at Fontainebleau		489,913 fr.
Received from Orléans, 12 April		2,580,002
Received from Rambouillet, 18 April		911,000
TOTAL		3,980,915
Traveling Expenses, etc.		149,837
BALANCE		3,831,078
Marie-Louise received at Orléans		6,000,000 fr.
Sent Napoleon, 12 Apr.	2,580,002	
" " 18 "	911,000	3,491,002
BALANCE		2,508,998

(Of this balance, she retained about 500,000 francs, and gave her father 2,000,000.)

CHAPTER SIXTY

26 FEBRUARY — 20 MARCH 1815

THE FLIGHT OF THE EAGLE

The Voyage to France — Route Selected for the March — The Surgeon Emery — Perils of the Route — The News at Paris — Artois Sent to Lyon — Masséna's Measures — Napoleon at Digne — The Situation at Grenoble — The Commandant Tries to Bar the Route — The Celebrated Scene at Laffray — Comte de la Bédoyère — Flight of Marchand — Napoleon Enters Grenoble — His Arrival at Lyon — His Decrees — Ney Joins the Emperor — Fall of the Monarchy — Departure of the King — Lavalette's Measures — Napoleon at Fontainebleau — His Journey to Paris — The Day in the Capital — The Assembly at the Tuileries — Arrival of the Emperor — His Joyful Reception

AS HAD happened so many times before in his career, wind and wave were favorable to Napoleon in his voyage to France. Four French warships were cruising between Corsica and Elba, and the English frigate, *Partridge,* was in the harbor of Leghorn, where she was detained by the south wind which bore the Emperor to France. In order not to attract attention, before his departure Napoleon had given secret orders to the captains of his fleet to separate during the traverse, and unite again in the Golfe Jouan.[1]

On the morning of the first day, the *Inconstant* was opposite the little island of Capraja, in line with the north point of Corsica, and the wind was light. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a French vessel was seen, coming up rapidly on the port side, with the wind behind. Taillade, the commander of the *Inconstant,* soon recognized her as the *Zéphyr,* a French brig, commanded by one of his former comrades, Captain Andrieux. As the two ships came side by side, by order of the Emperor Taillade took the speaking-trumpet and hailed the captain of

[1] Peyrusse, *Mémorial,* 275.

the *Zéphyr:* " Where are you bound? " — " To Leghorn. And you? " — " To Genoa. Have you any messages? " — " No. And how is the Great Man? " — " Fine! " and the two vessels separated.[2]

At daybreak the following morning, a large frigate was sighted, but the ship soon disappeared below the horizon. The Emperor, delighted to have escaped the cruisers, exclaimed, " It is a day of Austerlitz! " In great good humor, he then began to talk freely of the aim of his expedition. He admitted that there was no precedent in history for such an enterprise; but he counted for success on the element of surprise, the state of public feeling, and the love of his old soldiers. In conclusion, he made the prediction, which was so soon to be verified: " I shall arrive at Paris without firing a shot! " [3]

At one o'clock, on the afternoon of Wednesday, the first of March, the little fleet had arrived, and dropped anchor, in the Golfe Jouan. At five o'clock, all the troops had disembarked, and at eleven Napoleon marched to Cannes at the head of his little army of 1100 men.

For Napoleon, the whole littoral was full of souvenirs. Around the headland to the left was Fréjus where he had been welcomed home from Egypt, and whence he had sailed for Elba. A little farther to the west was Toulon, where the poor Corsican family had landed in 1793, where his name first became known to History only a few months later, and whence he sailed for the Orient. Beyond the cape to the east was Antibes, where he was thrown into prison after the fall of Robespierre; and a few miles farther was Nice where he took command of the Army of Italy. To-day, on the avenue from Cannes to Nice, there stands in the shade of a tree by the roadside a simple shaft of stone bearing only the inscription: *Souvenir du 1^er^ mars 1815.* This marks the spot of his first bivouac.

Napoleon has been pictured to us, sitting in his camp-chair, near the fire built by his soldiers, his eyes fixed upon the maps,

[2] Peyrusse, 275–276; Pons, 133.

[3] *Cf.* Peyrusse, 276; also letter of Pons to Masséna, 7 March (War Archives).

hesitating which of two routes to take. Nothing could be further from the truth: the Emperor had not awaited the hour of his landing to make his decision. He knew too well the political chart of France: he remembered with too much bitterness the insults and menaces, the humiliations he had endured in passing through Provence on his way to Elba, to think of reaching Lyon by the main highway. He would have had everything to fear from a mob fanatic in its royalty, and he had no desire to inaugurate a civil war. Before leaving Elba, he had decided to reach Grenoble by way of the Maritime Alps and Dauphiny, where the population was entirely devoted to him. Between the two routes, no hesitation was possible.

In his resolution, Napoleon was confirmed by the information given him by the surgeon Emery of his Guard, a native of Grenoble, who had paid a visit to the city before rejoining his battalion at Elba. He had been able to furnish the Emperor with invaluable data regarding the discontent which existed at Grenoble, as well as throughout all of Dauphiny, where the population, strongly attached to the principles of the Revolution, was very hostile to the Monarchy. Emery's report had been confirmed by one of his friends, a wealthy glover of Grenoble, named Jean Dumoulin, who visited Porto-Ferrajo in September 1814, and had quite a long interview with Napoleon. This explains why, on his arrival at Castellane on the morning of the 3 March, the Emperor demanded of the mayor three passports in blank, one of which he had filled out in the name of "Dr. Emery, surgeon of the Guard, en congé from Elba." This he handed to Emery, with the order to go ahead to Grenoble, and announce his coming. Through the efforts of the surgeon, the very eve of Napoleon's arrival his proclamations were widely circulated through the city: the officers were shaken, the soldiers seduced, the functionaries intimidated, the people rallied. Napoleon never forgot these services, and in one of the codicils to his testament he left the surgeon Emery 100,000 francs.

Without entering Cannes or Grasse, the column advanced by way of Castellane and Barême. The soldiers marched in Indian file, by steep and narrow paths, covered with snow, on the

very edge of the precipices. The highway ended at Grasse, and there was only a mountain path from there to Digne, a distance of over sixty miles. Napoleon decided to abandon his cannon, which would only have retarded his march. They were left at Grasse with the municipal guard, who sent them to Antibes as a trophy. The sacks of gold and the papers were packed on mules.

The heavy berline, which had been secured for the Emperor at Cannes, was also abandoned at Grasse. At this time Napoleon was suffering from a local ailment, which made it difficult for him to ride with any comfort.[4] They tried to find a light two-wheeled carriage for him, but none could be had. With some annoyance, the Emperor then resumed his saddle; but like the other mounted men, he was soon forced to dismount, on account of the difficulty of the route; and he walked, with a stick in his hand. Several times he slipped and nearly fell, and a grenadier, noticing one of his missteps, said familiarly: "Jean de l'Épée must not get a sprain before he becomes again Jean de Paris."[5]

An inscription at the hamlet of Saint-Vallier[6] still recalls the fact that the troops halted there to regain their breath. About eight o'clock in the evening they reached the little village of Seranon, at an elevation of over 4200 feet. Here a halt was made for the night, and the Emperor slept in the château of the mayor of Grasse. The column had made over thirty miles in twenty hours — a remarkable march in such a mountainous country. But the Emperor, who always wished to strike the imaginations of men, published in the *Moniteur* (23 March) that they made fifty miles the first day.[7]

On the 3d, they made another long march, of nearly thirty miles, and arrived late at night at Barême. It snowed in large

[4] Dr. Pierre Seytre, *Chronique médicale,* 15 octobre 1911.

[5] *Jean de l'Épée* was one of the soldiers' names for Napoleon; and *Jehan de Paris* was a prose romance of the 15th century, in which a young French prince makes fun of an aged King of England.

[6] Gagnière, *Nouvelle Revue,* 15 juillet 1888.

[7] Pons, 158; Peyrusse, 282–283.

flakes, and the route through the Alps was not less difficult and dangerous than that of the previous day. One of the mules, loaded with 300,000 francs in gold, fell over a precipice and was killed; but nearly all the money was recovered.

At one o'clock on the 4th, they reached Digne, after a six hours' march, and halted for three hours. From this point there was a good road, leading to the main route from Marseille to Grenoble, and the Emperor for the first time was able to form his columns in military order. At the head marched the three companies of the chasseurs à pied of the Old Guard and the Polish lancers; then followed the three companies of the grenadiers, with the Emperor and the treasury in their midst; and the Corsican battalion brought up the rear.

That night was passed at Malijai, and the following night at Gap. Leaving Gap on the afternoon of the 6th, the Emperor pushed on through Saint-Bonnet to Corps, where he bivouacked, at one day's march from Grenoble.

As the semaphore telegraph at that date did not go beyond Lyon, the despatch from Marseille which Masséna sent on the 3 March to the Minister of War, had to be carried by a courier as far as Lyon, and did not reach Paris until Sunday, the 5th, about noon. It was taken directly to the cabinet of the King, who read it very calmly, and then said: "This letter must be taken to the Minister of War: he will see what must be done." When Soult read the message, he seemed more surprised than disturbed. In fact, no one at Paris displayed the least alarm. What could the dethroned Emperor, with his little band of 1100 men, do against the Royal Army of 180,000?

In response to a demand from Talleyrand, at Vienna, an Army of Observation of 30,000 men was then being assembled in the South; for the purpose of guarding the Alps against any attack by Murat. At a council of the ministers, held at the Tuileries that evening, it was decided to send the Comte d'Artois to Lyon to take command of these troops. He was to have as lieutenants his two sons, the Duc de Berry and the Duc d'Angoulême. As none of these princes had had any military experience, three

former marshals of the Empire — Saint-Cyr, Macdonald, and Ney — were designated as their seconds in command. At midnight, Comte d'Artois set out for Lyon.

The news of the landing had reached Marshal Masséna, at Marseille, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 3 March. At first he thought that it was only the return of some fifty men, tired of the life at Elba; but he was soon better informed. After sending a second despatch to Paris, he ordered General Miollis to march with one regiment, and six companies from another, (nearly the entire garrison), on Sisteron, where the main route to Grenoble is joined by the branch road from Digne. Sisteron was about ten miles nearer to Marseille than to Cannes, but the force from Elba had a start of two days, and Masséna, who knew the rapidity of Napoleon's marches, had little hope that the garrison would arrive in time. In this anticipation, the marshal was quite correct. That same day, the 4 March, the Emperor had entered Digne, where he received a warm welcome from the bishop, who was a brother of General Miollis.[8]

After leaving Digne, the almost furtive march of Napoleon, which had succeeded only through its rapidity, became indeed *le vol de l'Aigle.* At Sisteron, the crowd cried *Vive l'Empereur!* At Gap, the prefect and the general in command withdrew the garrison, in view of the public sentiment, without making any attempt to defend the place.

Situated in the heart of Dauphiny was the little city of Grenoble, the first place of any size or importance on the line of Napoleon's march. It was the headquarters of the 7th Military Division, then commanded by General Marchand, who was a native of the city. An avocat under Louis the Sixteenth, he had

[8] The Bishop of Digne has been immortalized by Victor Hugo in the saintly character of *Monseigneur Bienvenu* in *Les Misérables.* According to a local tradition, *Jean Valjean* was one of the four recruits who joined Napoleon in the course of the first four days of his march; he followed the Emperor to Paris, and to Waterloo, where he perished on the field. This tradition, however, has little historical foundation, for the recruits gained by Napoleon were: two soldiers from the garrison of Antibes, a tanner of Grasse, and a gendarme. (See Peyrusse, 284; Laborde, 82; and Fabry, 21, 32, 37, 39.)

entered the Army in 1791, and returned twenty-two years later as general of division, grand-aigle, and comte of the Empire. His haste in rallying to the Bourbons in April 1814 had resulted in his retaining the command at Grenoble, but had alienated his soldiers. The sentiments of the barracks were shared by the city, where the hostility to the Bourbons was almost universal. The bourgeois, the merchants, the laborers, the farmers were all in favor of the Emperor; only the noblesse and the clergy were loyal to the King.

Although they had sworn fidelity to the Monarchy, both the commandant, Marchand, and the prefect, Fourier, were not very strongly in favor of the Bourbons. Nevertheless, in this crisis, they did their full duty: Fourier drew up a proclamation against the "usurper," and Marchand ordered two regiments of infantry, at Chambéry, and one of cavalry, at Vienne, to march to Grenoble, to reënforce the garrison, which was made up of three regiments, of infantry, artillery, and engineers.

In spite of all the efforts of the commandant and the prefect to keep the matter a secret, the news of the Emperor's approach spread through the city on the morning of the 5 March. Finally, the prefect decided to announce the matter officially by a proclamation posted at the Hôtel-de-Ville at five o'clock.

At this same hour, Emery secretly entered the city, and was concealed by his friend Dumoulin. The police, notified of his arrival, searched for him in vain; and that night the Emperor's proclamations were posted everywhere in Grenoble.

At a meeting of the officers, held on the morning of the 6th, Marchand proposed to advance against the Emperor with all the troops of the garrison, but was restrained by the observation of one of his aides that the 3d Engineers and the 4th Artillery, regiments in which Bonaparte had served before the Revolution, were wavering. In fact, in reading Marchand's order of the day, in which he announced that Bonaparte had only a thousand men, the soldiers had cried: "They do not count us!" And the gunners on the ramparts said: "We should be great fools to do evil to a man who has done us only good. If we fire, it will not be upon him, but in the other direction!"

Marchand therefore decided to remain within the defences of the town, and sent his aide, Major Delessart, with a company of engineers and a battalion of the 5th Regiment, to delay the Emperor's march by blowing up the bridge at Ponthaut. Arrived at La Mure, Delessart was dissuaded from destroying the bridge by the mayor, a strong Bonapartist, who represented that it would not stop the Emperor's advance, as there was a ford near at hand, and that it would cause great inconvenience to all the inhabitants. Delessart therefore withdrew his men to Laffray, about eight miles from La Mure.

The Emperor reached La Mure about noon on the 7 March, and was received with cheers by all the inhabitants. After a brief halt, he continued his march: the Polish lancers in advance, followed by the chasseurs of the Old Guard, finally the Emperor himself, in a calèche, his horse led by hand.

About four miles from the town, they came to the defile of Laffray, a narrow pass between the lakes and a range of hills about 400 feet high. Here they saw, drawn up in line of battle at the farther end, a battalion of infantry. The Emperor descended from his carriage, mounted his horse, and rode forward with the lancers.

These Royal troops were the battalion of the 5th Infantry and the company of engineers, under the command of Delessart. He had taken advantage of this strong position to retard the Emperor's march, while awaiting further orders from Grenoble. Here he was joined by an aide de camp of the general, his nephew Captain Randon,[9] who, however, brought no commands.

On arriving near the end of the defile, the Emperor dismounted, and walked nervously back and forth, stopping occasionally to observe the enemy through his glass. Then, making his decision, Napoleon ordered the soldiers of his Old Guard to carry their muskets reversed under their left arms, and at their head marched toward the opposing array.

[9] This young officer, then only nineteen years of age, was a fervent royalist, although he became marshal of France and minister of War, under the Second Empire.

"There he is! Fire!" cried Captain Randon.

The soldiers' faces were livid; their legs shook under them, and the guns wavered in their nerveless hands.

Within pistol-shot, Napoleon stopped. "Soldiers of the Fifth," he said in a strong and quiet voice, "I am your Emperor. Recognize me!" Then, advancing two or three paces, and throwing open his redingote: "If there be amongst you a soldier who wishes to slay his Emperor, here I am!"

This trial was too much for the soldiers. From the troops came a unanimous cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* Breaking ranks, throwing their white cockades in the road, the men rushed to surround their old commander, kneeling at his feet, touching his boots, his sword, the hem of his coat. Captain Randon struck spurs to his horse, and disappeared in the confusion, while Major Delessart burst into tears and offered his sword to the Emperor, who returned it, and embraced him.[10]

The soldiers having resumed their places in the ranks, the Emperor made them a short address, which they received with acclamations. At this moment a cavalier, in the uniform of a captain of the National Guard, wearing a tricolored cockade "as large as a saucer," arrived at a gallop. It was Jean Dumoulin, the glover of Grenoble. "Sire," he said, in dismounting, "I come to bring Your Majesty in my arms one hundred thousand francs." "Remount your horse," replied the Emperor, with a smile; "I accept your services."

The column then resumed its march, reënforced by the battalion of the 5th Infantry, which asked to form the advance-guard.

From the earliest hour, the city of Grenoble had been in a state of great agitation. The people had all read the Emperor's proclamations, and were ready to believe the rumors: that Napoleon had the support of Austria, that ten thousand Royal troops had already rallied to him, and so on. The disaffection

[10] *Cf.* Laborde, 92–93; Peyrusse, 286; *Moniteur,* 23 mars; 31 Corresp., 51–52; 2 Montholon, 42–43. The account in Las Cases (VI, 192–193) is not trustworthy.

was also general amongst the soldiers of the garrison; but there were as yet no acts of insubordination, in view of the despatch from Lyon, posted by the prefect, which announced the arrival of Comte d'Artois at the head of 40,000 men.

About noon, the garrison was reënforced by the arrival of hussards from Vienne, and the brigade of infantry from Chambéry. General Marchand had little confidence in the cavalry, who had cried *Vive l'Empereur!* at a review by Artois the previous year, but he relied on the two regiments of the line, and especially the Seventh, commanded by Comte Charles de la Bédoyère. This young officer, still under thirty years of age, had served as aide de camp to Lannes, then to Prince Eugène, and had greatly distinguished himself during the Campaign of France. But, in 1813, he had married the granddaughter of a Royalist marquis, and had rallied to the Bourbons after the fall of the Empire. Since then, however, he had become discontented, owing to the vexatious policy of the Royal Government, and was ready to declare for the Emperor.

Arrived at Grenoble, the disaffection of the inhabitants, and the attitude of his own troops, confirmed his resolution. Suddenly, he drew his sword, and cried: " Join me! soldiers of the Seventh. Aid me! my brave comrades. I am going to show you our path. Forward! Whoever loves me, follows me! " The drums beat the charge; the whole regiment cried *Vive l'Empereur!* and rushed in a mass toward the Porte de Bonne. In the suburb, after passing the last dwellings of the city, the colonel cried " Halt! " Then, forming the regiment in a square, and ordering the soldiers to present arms, he took from his pocket the old eagle of the regiment, and displayed it to the men. The troops cheered the eagle, the colonel, the Emperor, and resumed their rapid march.

The departure of the Seventh had greatly excited the garrison, and Marchand had lost all control over the men. In the midst of the excitement, Randon arrived, and reported what had occurred at Laffray. In order to save the garrison, the commandant then resolved to withdraw the troops from Gre-

noble, but it was too late: the men refused to obey, and he was forced to flee for his life.

At seven o'clock, the Emperor arrived before the walls of the city, but it was two hours before the loyal officers would open the gate. Finally, the keys were produced, and Napoleon entered in triumph. The people wished to escort him to the préfecture, but he insisted on going to the Hôtel des Trois-Dauphins, kept by one of his old soldiers of the Army of Italy.

The Emperor remained thirty-six hours at Grenoble: after having marched 200 miles in six days, both he and his men had need of a little repose. Besides, haste was no longer necessary: a large city, and five regiments, had declared for him. "Up to Grenoble," he said at Saint Helena, "I was an adventurer; at Grenoble, I was a prince."[11]

The following day, the Emperor held a review of the garrison of Grenoble. All the soldiers wore the old and soiled tricolored cockades, which they had preserved in the bottoms of their haversacks; and they cried, as they defiled before the Emperor: "I had it at Marengo! . . . I wore it at Austerlitz! . . . I wore it at Friedland!"

After the review, the garrison set out on the route to Lyon, the 4th Hussards and the 7th Infantry forming the vanguard, under the command of Cambronne. Any one but Napoleon would have hesitated to have these new recruits to his army march ahead of his faithful Old Guard; but no mortal ever knew better than he the hearts of men. No better means could have been devised, to assure the allegiance of these men, than this trust reposed in them; and no better plan for impressing the population, than the sight of these soldiers who had just rallied to his cause: they were the living proofs of his success.

Soon after his arrival at Lyon, Comte d'Artois was forced to abandon any hope of defending the city. The 30,000 troops ordered there by Soult did not appear; and the garrison, composed of two regiments of the line and one of dragoons, did not

[11] 2 Montholon, 45; 6 Las Cases, 96.

seem disposed to fight. The Duc d'Orléans advised Artois to withdraw the garrison, as the city could not be defended against the Emperor; but the comte put off a decision until the arrival of Macdonald. The marshal, after learning the situation, advised the Comte d'Artois to leave; but decided himself to remain. Finding at last that the defence was hopeless, he fled from the city, pursued for several miles by the hussards, who wanted to lead him to Napoleon.

Leaving Grenoble at two o'clock on the morning of the 9 March, the Emperor entered Lyon at nine o'clock the second evening. He was received with cheers by the garrison and the whole population of the city: to reach the palace of the archbishop, vacated that morning by the King's brother, he had literally " to pass over the crowd."

If Napoleon was a prince at Grenoble, at Lyon he was once more the Emperor! By decrees, he proscribed the Royal flag and the white cockade; suppressed the orders of Saint-Louis and Saint-Esprit; cancelled all the nominations made during the past year in the Army and the Légion d'honneur; reëstablished the tricolored flag; and sequestered the property of the Bourbon princes. He abolished the Chamber of Deputies, and convoked, for the month of May at Paris, an assembly of the electoral colleges of the Empire.

When he left Lyon at one o'clock on the morning of the 13 March, Napoleon had under his command a regular army corps: the troops from Elba, ten regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, one of engineers, and two of artillery, with thirty field pieces. Nothing now could arrest his course, but an encounter with Ney might result in bloodshed, which he was determined to avoid at all hazzards.

Marshal Ney was at his country estate when he received Soult's order to go to his headquarters at Besançon, and take command of the left wing of the Royal army. Passing through Paris on the 7 March, he had an interview with the King, in which he promised to bring back Bonaparte in an " iron cage." On his arrival at Besançon on the 10th, Ney found that Gen-

eral Bourmont had sent nearly all the effectives in the garrison to Artois at Lyon. There remained only a few hundred men, whose loyalty was doubtful. The following day, he left Besançon in company with his second in command, Bourmont, a fervent Royalist; and he was soon to be joined by General Lecourbe, who was less Bourbon than anti-Bonaparte in his sentiments.

On joining his troops at Lons-le-Saunier, on the night of the 11th, Ney learned of the Emperor's enthusiastic reception at Lyon, and was handed a copy of the proclamation to the Army, which he carefully read. He was much struck by the words, "The Eagle will fly from steeple to steeple, even unto the towers of Notre-Dame." "The King should write like that," he exclaimed; "that is the way to move the soldiers."

The marshal was beginning to waver, and his trouble was increased when he received a letter from Bertrand, written at the dictation of the Emperor. To this was joined an autograph note from Napoleon:

"My cousin, my major-general sends you the order of march. I have no doubt that, the moment you heard of my arrival at Lyon, you had your troops resume the tricolored flag. Execute the orders of Bertrand, and come to rejoin me at Chalon. I shall receive you the same as the day after the battle of the Moskova." [12]

Ney had only 6000 men, who were strung out on a line eighty miles long, from Besançon to Bourg, and their fidelity was more than doubtful. The Emperor had in hand 14,000 veterans, all devoted to him. If Delessart could not defend the defile of Laffray; if Marchand could not hold the ramparts of Grenoble; if Macdonald had been forced to flee from Lyon, what chance had Ney to oppose successfully his old chief?

After a conference with Bourmont and Lecourbe, on the morning of the 14th, Ney gave orders for a review of the troops at one o'clock upon the Place d'Armes. Arriving on the field, the marshal took his place with his staff in the midst

[12] Corresp., 21689.

of the troops, formed in a square. After a roll of the drums, Ney drew his sword, and read with his strong, clear voice: "Officers and soldiers, the cause of the Bourbons is lost for ever." Here he was interrupted by joyous cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* "Soldiers, I have often led you to victory; now I am going to lead you to the immortal phalanx which the Emperor is conducting to Paris."

The following morning, Ney directed his troops on Dôle and Dijon, in conformity with the orders of General Bertrand. He himself joined the Imperial headquarters at Auxerre on the 17th, and was received by the Emperor the next morning. He presented a written justification of his conduct to Napoleon, who read it, tore the paper into small pieces, and said: "The brave Ney is crazy!" After a brief conversation, the Emperor gave Ney orders to rejoin his troops and lead them to Paris.

The Monarchy fell to pieces like a house of cards. All the measures taken against Napoleon turned against the Government. The sole result of sending troops to bar the route of the Emperor was to furnish him an army, so much so that, after the defection of Ney, this placard was found attached to the Vendôme Column:

"Napoleon to Louis: My good brother, it is useless to send me any more soldiers: I have enough." [13]

On the evening of Saturday, the 18 March, the arrival of the Emperor at Auxerre, and the defection of Ney, were known at the Tuileries. The King hesitated no longer: he resolved to leave Paris the next day. A little before midnight, on Palm Sunday, a dozen carriages were assembled in the court of the Tuileries. The berline to be used by the King was stationed under the marquise of the Pavillon de Flore. An usher, bearing a torch, issued from the door; then Louis appeared upon the threshold, supported by the Comte de Blacas and the Duc de Duras. The few spectators were moved at the sight of the aged, infirm, and defenceless King, constrained, after twenty-

[13] Police note, in National Archives.

three years of exile, once more to take the route to the frontier. Visions of the flight to Varennes, of the 10 August, of the 21 January, passed before their eyes as the brother of Louis the Sixteenth tottered down the steps of the Château. All the spectators fell on their knees, and there were a few feeble cries of *Vive le Roi!* Assisted into the carriage, the King set out, with a heavy escort of the Body Guard.[14]

The King was followed by Comte d'Artois in a chaise de poste. The Duc de Berry and Marshal Marmont rode to the Champ de Mars, where the Maison du Roi was assembled, and departed by way of Saint-Denis at the head of the troops. All of the members of the Government left the same night.

On the 20 March, Paris awoke to find itself without a government. The departure of the Court was officially announced in the *Moniteur*. Sébastiani and other general officers rode to Villejuif to assure the defection of the Royal troops. Lavalette went to the Hôtel des Postes, and upon his own authority resumed the direction of postal affairs. He sent a courier on the route to Fontainebleau to announce to the Emperor the departure of the Bourbons. He then despatched in every direction a circular reading:

"The Emperor will be in Paris in two hours, and perhaps sooner. The greatest enthusiasm reigns in the capital. All is quiet. No matter what happens, there will be no civil war. *Vive l'Empereur!*"[15]

At that hour, Napoleon was at Fontainebleau. Leaving Pont-sur-Yonne at one o'clock in the morning, under the escort of a regiment of dragoons, he had arrived at ten in the court of the Cheval-Blanc, where he was met by M. de Plancy, the prefect of Seine-et-Marne. Toward noon, he received the despatch from Lavalette, and a smile lighted up his pale face, as he said: "That is good! This evening I shall be in the Tuileries." He sent back the courier, with a message to Lavalette to await him at the Château with the Duc de Bassano. At

[14] Vitrolles, 2 *Mémoires*, 354; Marmont, 7 *Mémoires*, 99.
[15] Lavalette, 2 *Mémoires*, 151 *et seq.*

two o'clock, Napoleon started for Paris, but the journey was slow, as the road was obstructed by the peasants, cheering and singing, and by the masses of the Royal army, rushing "en délire" to see the Emperor. In this last stage of his journey, Napoleon was escorted only by a small detachment of Polish lancers!

From early dawn, the crowds had begun to gather around the Tuileries. The tricolor was floating over the Château, the Hôtel-de-Ville, and all the public buildings. The personnel of the former Imperial Court had taken possession of the Tuileries. In the afternoon, the ministers, the chamberlains, all of the dignitaries of the Empire began to appear, in full uniform. Later came the ladies of the Court, all in evening gowns, except Hortense, in mourning for the Empress Joséphine, and Queen Julie, in black for her mother, Madame Clary. In the Throne Room, they noticed that the fleurs de lis had only been pasted over the Imperial bees; and they amused themselves with tearing off the Royal emblems.

In the State apartments, on the first floor, were assembled the former consuls: Cambacérès and Lebrun; the ministers: Caulaincourt, Maret, Savary, Gaudin, Lavalette, Decrès, Daru, Regnault; and Ségur, the grand master of ceremonies; also the marshals: Davout and Lefebvre; and a crowd of general officers, including Dejean, Exelmans, and Arrighi.

The night was foggy, with a sprinkle of rain. The crowd gathered in the Carrousel could distinguish clearly only the windows of the Château, which were brilliantly illuminated as on evenings of grande-fête. The arrival of the Emperor was anxiously awaited. Finally, about nine o'clock, from the direction of the quays, there was heard a confused noise, which approached, and became louder and clearer. A chaise de poste entered the gate at full trot: it was followed by a thousand horsemen, brandishing their sabres, and crying *Vive l'Empereur!* The carriage stopped before the Pavillon de Flore, and the Emperor descended. He had hardly put foot to the ground before he was seized, hoisted aloft, and borne up the staircase in the arms of his old officers. They were so de-

lirious with joy that the Emperor was in danger of being crushed in their arms. "In the name of Heaven!" cried Caulaincourt to Lavalette, "place yourself before him."

Napoleon himself seemed to see nothing, hear nothing. As if in a state of somnambulism, his eyes closed, a happy smile upon his lips, he let them carry him up the steps. Arrived at his cabinet, the doors were closed against the crowd. Little by little, silence fell. The cavaliers hitched their horses to the railings of the Carrousel, and slept on the ground, wrapped in their cloaks. "The court of the Tuileries had the aspect of a bivouac in a city taken by assault." [16]

[16] See Lavalette, 2 *Mémoires,* 161; and Laborde, *Quarante-huit heures de garde,* 21.

CHAPTER SIXTY-ONE

MARCH — JUNE 1815

THE HUNDRED DAYS

The Return from Elba a Spontaneous Movement — The New Ministry — Fouché and Carnot — Napoleon's Desire for Peace — He Is Put Under the Ban of Europe — Repudiated by the Empress — Remembered by His Son — Murat Loses His Throne — The Royal Court at Ghent — The Emperor Becomes a Liberal — The Administration Hostile — Napoleon's Life at Paris — Review of the National Guard — Benjamin Constant and the New Constitution — The Elections Unfavorable — Fouché Quiets the Vendée — The *Champ de Mai* — The Ceremony Not a Success — The List of Peers — The Imperial Session — The Events of the Hundred Days — Napoleon Disillusioned — His Discouragement

THE Royalists could not, or would not believe, that the sight of the familiar gray redingote, and of the tricolored standard, had been sufficient to overturn the Monarchy. They insisted that there was a deep and wide-spread conspiracy, heavily financed by the Imperialists; but this legend has long since been destroyed. There was no conspiracy, and not a sou was spent by Napoleon or his friends. The Return from Elba was a popular movement, seconded by the Army. It surprised the Bonapartists as much as it did the Bourbons. " The peasants' hatred of the Ancien Régime, and the soldiers' cult for the Emperor," says M. Houssaye, " united them in a common action. . . . This is the reason for his quick and easy success, for his astounding and triumphal march from the Golfe Jouan to Paris." [1]

Upon his return to the Tuileries, the Emperor had been greeted by nearly all of the members of his old Government, and he was able that same night to name his ministers.[2] He

[1] 1 Houssaye, 368–374.

[2] Caulaincourt (Foreign Affairs), Maret (State), Davout (War), Decrès

FOUCHE, DUC D'OTRANTE

had some difficulty in persuading the Duc de Vicence to resume the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; and Savary refused to become again the Minister of Police, so the Emperor was practically forced to turn to Fouché. Napoleon had no illusions regarding the fidelity of this notorious turn-coat, but in a crisis like the present he preferred a thorough-going rascal like Fouché, with his consummate ability and sovereign resources, to a servant devoted but maladroit like the Duc de Rovigo.[3]

The Emperor had some hesitation about offering a portfolio to Carnot; but since the 24 January 1814, when the "Organizer of Victory" had offered his services to defend France against the invaders, Napoleon could no longer regard him as an opponent. Carnot accepted, with the words, "In such a moment one cannot refuse him anything."[4]

The evening of his return to the Tuileries, the Emperor said to his two confidants, Cambacérès and Maret: "It is my interest to live tranquilly, and to employ the rest of my life in repairing the evils done to France by twenty years of war followed by an invasion."

Nevertheless, he at once began preparations for the war which appeared to him probable, although not inevitable. In order to sow dissension among the Allies, he communicated to Russia and Prussia the secret treaty signed on the 3 January by England, Austria, and France, against those Powers.[5]

Knowing the affection of Alexander for the children of Joséphine, he had Hortense write the Czar to convey his expressions of friendship. At the same time he wrote a personal letter to the Emperor Francis, to give the same assurances, and to express the hope that he would soon be rejoined by his wife and son.

(Marine), Gaudin (Finances), Mollien (Treasury), Cambacérès (Justice), Fouché (Police), Lavalette (Posts), Carnot (Interior).

[3] 1 Houssaye, 376–377, 573.

[4] 2 Lavalette, 164.

[5] Jaucourt had been careless enough to leave one of the original copies of this treaty among the papers of the bureau of Foreign Affairs.

These personal appeals were supplemented by a circular letter to the Sovereigns, expressing his desire for peace; and adding that, as for France, "the invariable principle of her politics will be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations."[6] To this, Talleyrand replied by the riposte, so cruelly à propos: "It is the wolf turned shepherd."[7]

But, before the pacific dispositions of Napoleon were known at Vienna, the Powers had issued the furious "Declaration of the 13 March," putting the "Corsican adventurer" under the ban of Europe, as a public enemy and disturber of the world. This was followed by the formation of the Seventh Coalition against France.

These acts were greatly facilitated by the presence in one city of the sovereigns and their ministers. Before leaving Elba, Napoleon had had a vague premonition of this danger, if he embarked before the close of the Congress, but he feared even more that a decision would be reached to deport him to an isle of the Ocean.[8]

At the same time, orders were issued from Vienna to arrest Joseph at Prangins and Jérôme at Trieste; Élisa was conducted to Brünn, Catherine was interned at Göppingen, and Pauline was detained in Tuscany.

After the 30 March, all the diplomatic despatches were intercepted. Soon the frontiers were closed even to letters and newspapers. To force the blockade, the Emperor then had recourse to secret agents; but Flahaut was arrested at Stuttgart, and Montrond, who managed to reach Vienna, had no success. The Czar, who had taken a walk every day for three months with Eugène, refused to see him again, and the prince was forced to rejoin his wife and children in Munich.

At Vienna, Montrond saw Méneval, and handed him the Emperor's letter to Marie-Louise; but it was destroyed without being delivered, because Méneval knew that she would give it to her father, as she had promised. It was from Neipperg that

[6] Corresp., 21769.
[7] Villemain, 2 *Souvenirs contemporains*, 134.
[8] See 1 Fleury, 126, and 140–141.

she learned the news of Napoleon's return; and on the 12 March, under his dictation, she wrote an official letter to Metternich, severing her lot from that of the Emperor, and placing herself under the protection of the Powers. But for this action, her father might have hesitated, the following day, to sign the manifesto against his son-in-law.

In spite of her prayers and protestations, Mme. de Montesquiou, who had never been separated from the little Napoleon since his birth, was ordered to return to France. The child was heartbroken, and cried night and day for his " maman Quiou." When Méneval took his leave in May, he asked the boy if he had any messages for the Emperor. Without replying, the little prince drew Méneval into the embrasure of a window, and then said, very low: " Tell him, Monsieur *Méva,* that I always love him dearly." [9]

In all Europe, Napoleon had only one ally: Murat, and he was about to ruin himself, without aiding the Emperor, by his precipitation in rushing to arms. After some early successes, he was decisively defeated by the Austrians the first week in May, and was abandoned by his troops, who deserted *en masse.* Disguised as a sailor, he fled from Naples on the 19 May, and gained Cannes. He rented a house in the environs of Toulon, where he stayed during the remainder of the Hundred Days, as the Emperor refused to employ him.

The Austrians entered Naples on the 23 May, and Caroline was conducted as a prisoner to Trieste. Her last words to Mier were: " As sister of the Emperor, I cannot wish his death, but I should much have desired him to remain quietly on the island of Elba." [10]

Murat complained bitterly, but without reason, of the injustice of the Emperor. As Napoleon well said: " Last year, you ruined France by paralyzing the 60,000 soldiers of Prince Eugène. This year you have compromised her by attacking the Austrians prematurely." [11]

[9] 2 Méneval, 325–327.

[10] Mier to Metternich, Naples 5 March (cited by Helfert).

[11] See Corresp., 21826. This letter, written later than the 23 May, is incorrectly dated the 19 April.

On leaving Paris, Louis the Eighteenth had gone to Lille; but he did not feel safe there, and soon proceeded to Ostende, with the secret intention of embarking for England. With some difficulty, he was dissuaded from this unwise plan, and the end of March he went to Ghent, where the Prince of Orange had offered him residence. He was followed by many of his faithful subjects, and also by a few former adherents of the Empire, such as Bourrienne, Clarke, Marmont, and Victor, who had gravely compromised themselves in his service.

At Ghent the King had a regular Court, and some semblance of a Government. He was well provided with money, as he had carried away from Paris about five millions in gold, besides the Crown diamonds.

In all his wanderings Louis had preserved an unshakeable belief in his "divine right." He had never given up the hope of returning to his throne, even when a fugitive in Italy, an unwelcome visitor in Russia, and a "pretender" in England. With much greater reason, he felt at Ghent that he was still the King of France.

Up to the time of his arrival at Paris, Napoleon had posed, not as the old Emperor, returned to resume his sovereign rights, but as the soldier of the Revolution, "the man of the people." All of his proclamations, all of his harangues, even his decrees at Lyon, were couched in this vein. But, at heart, Napoleon detested the *canaille:* already, at Lyon and at Chalon, he had been disgusted and alarmed by the cries of the populace. He recoiled before the measures of the Revolution, the only ones, says Jomini, which could perhaps have saved the nation from the foreign invaders.[12]

In referring to this subject at Saint Helena, the Emperor sometimes expressed regret, but never remorse. "The Empire," he said, "had become *legitimate* . . . I did not wish to be a king of the Jacquerie."[13] In this position, he had the approval of his most zealous and most faithful supporters: Caulaincourt,

[12] 2 Jomini, 413.

[13] *Cf.* 6 Mémorial, 93–95; 2 Montholon, 150, 180, 204, 224.

Maret, Lavalette, Mollien, and Regnault. Even such former Jacobins as Carnot and Fouché had become liberals.

At Paris, however, Napoleon was no longer the soldier of the Revolution: he seemed to feel that he was once more the all-powerful Emperor of 1811. The Imperial etiquette resumed full sway at the Tuileries; his throne was again surrounded by the members of his numerous family; Joseph and Lucien were given palaces for residences.

But, in refusing to unchain the Revolution, the Emperor was inevitably forced to grant liberty to the nation. Public sentiment, as well as the opposition of the members of his Government, made it impossbile for him again to assume absolute power. Unable to be once more the autocratic emperor, refusing to be a popular dictator, he was compelled to assume the unimportant rôle of a constitutional monarch. "It was a piece of stupid folly," writes Mme. de Staël. "The moment they took Bonaparte again, they should have invested him with the dictatorship. Otherwise, the terror that he inspired, the power which resulted from that terror, no longer existed." And she compares him to a muzzled bear, which continues to growl, but dances to the tune of his trainers.[14]

During the Hundred Days, the administration of internal affairs was inert or hostile. Carnot understood as well as the Emperor the necessity of a complete change in the officers, but he proceeded gradually, "for fear of arresting the administrative machinery." Thus, for nearly a month, affairs were left in charge of officials openly or secretly hostile to the Empire.

If the prefects were bad, the mayors were worse. The municipal elections took place during the month of May, and two-thirds of the mayors whom the Government hoped to see replaced were reëlected. With very few exceptions the Clergy were openly hostile. For example, the Bishop of Agen, in a pastoral letter, exhorted all good Catholics to obey only the legitimate king.

Anticipating the celebrated declaration of his nephew, Na-

[14] See 3 Mme. de Staël, 141.

poleon said, *L'empire, c'est la paix;* but, without unchaining the Revolution, he could not maintain the peace. It was in vain that he tried to conceal the warlike dispositions of the Powers. He could not prevent many copies of the Declaration of the 13 March from penetrating France.

It was in vain also that he had redecorated in the Tuileries the apartments of the Empress and the King of Rome. Every one knew that war was imminent and inevitable, and the funds continued to fall. The enthusiasm which greeted Napoleon on his return gradually evaporated. On every side, one heard the words: "It will not last!" Reports of trouble and sedition came from nearly every quarter. Only the Army and Paris were blindly devoted to the Emperor.

But, if the capital was tranquil, it was also sad. Money was scarce; trade was bad; the funds fell from 78 to 68, and finally to 54.

After his return, people gathered every day under the windows of the Tuileries, to cry: *Vive l'Empereur!* At first, Napoleon responded by showing himself to the crowd; but these ovations soon became tiresome, and this was one of the principal reasons why he moved, the middle of April, from the Tuileries to the Élysée. But he returned nearly every day to review the troops passing through Paris on their way to the frontier.

On Sunday, he came to hear Mass in the Chapel, and held his usual reception after the services. He also showed himself frequently in public, visiting the Louvre, the Invalides, the hôtel of the Légion d'honneur; and inspecting the works going on in different sections of the city. He made all of these excursions without escort, accompanied only by one or two aides de camp. In the popular quarters, he descended from his carriage, and mingled freely with the people.

He appeared once at the Opéra, also once at the Théâtre-Français; and on both occasions he was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm. "Napoleon entered at the third scene," writes Hobhouse. "The whole mass rose with a shout which still thunders in my ears. I saw the Bourbon princes received for

the first time in the same place last year. Their greeting will bear no comparison with that of Napoleon, nor will any of those accorded to the heroes of the very many ceremonies I have witnessed in the course of my life." [15]

The ministers tried to dissuade the Emperor from holding a review of the National Guard, fearing an attempt at assassination. But Napoleon rejected these counsels, and the review was held on the 16 April. For the march-past, he took his place before the central pavilion, well in advance of his staff, with General Lobau at his right, and, at his left, an unarmed grenadier, charged to receive petitions. This was his only protection against the crowd of spectators, who stood within ten yards of his position. "It would have been easy," writes Hobhouse, who witnessed the scene, "to fire upon Napoleon, or even to stab him. I admired his serenity. His face is very pale, his jaws pendant, but not so much as I had heard said. He is not extremely fat, but his abdomen is so prominent that his linen shows beneath his waistcoat. He kept his hands joined before or behind him, but sometimes he separated them to rub his nose, to take a pinch of snuff, or to look at his watch. Often he sighed, swallowing his saliva, and seeming to suffer some pain in his chest." [16]

It was found impracticable to carry out the decree of Lyon for an assembly of the electoral colleges, to modify the Constitution. Under the circumstances, the Emperor would have preferred to reëstablish the Constitution of the Empire; but he was forced to be resigned, in the words of a contemporary, "to acquitting himself of that debt of a constitution contracted before the workmen of Lyon." [17]

He therefore appointed a commission to draft a new instrument. During the course of their discussions, there suddenly reappeared upon the political scene, to the surprise of every one, himself included, the last personage whom one would have looked for — Benjamin Constant. On the return of the Em-

[15] Hobhouse, 1 *Lettres*, 40–41.
[16] 1 Hobhouse, 33–37.
[17] 2 Villemain, 173.

peror, he had started to flee the country, but had finally decided to return to Paris, where he sought the protection of Joseph, whom he had known well during the Directory. When Napoleon learned through his brother of the presence of Constant, the idea occurred to him of asking the former member of the Tribunate to draft a plan for a new constitution. He therefore sent for Constant, and made the proposition, which was at once accepted.

From that time on, Constant came daily to the Tuileries to discuss with the Emperor his political theories, and he soon submitted a draft of the new constitution. In this instrument he omitted all reference to the Empire, as antecedent to the government which he proposed to establish. To this, the Emperor strenuously objected. As Constant did not think it worth while to quibble over a simple question of form, it was finally agreed that the new constitution should bear the name of *Acte additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire.*

Another subject of discussion was the hereditary peerage, modelled on that of Great Britain, to replace the Senate. Napoleon raised two objections to the plan: (1) the danger of offending the French sentiments of equality, and (2) the difficulty of finding the aristocratic elements which the peerage demanded; but he was finally overpersuaded.

As might have been anticipated, the Additional Act pleased no one, and, at Saint Helena, Napoleon attributed to it the unfavorable change in public sentiment. This view, however, was incorrect. The popular enthusiasm, so strong and so sincere in March, had begun to die out after the first weeks of April; this change, however, was due, not to the Acte additionnel, but to the fear of war, the open hostility of the Clergy and the public functionaries, and finally to the lack of confidence which permeated the whole personnel of the Administration.[18]

Having accepted the new Act, the Emperor hesitated for several days to issue the decree for the election of the Assembly; but he was finally forced to cede on this point, as on so many

[18] See correspondence and reports, cited 1 Houssaye, 557, note.

others, and the decree was published in the *Moniteur* of the first day of May. As he feared, the elections were unfavorable to him. Among the 629 members of the Chamber of Deputies, there were only about 80 determined Bonapartists, to 30 or 40 Jacobins, and over 500 Liberals of all the parties. In default of a Constitutional Monarchy, headed by the Duc d'Orléans,[19] who represented the political sentiments of the vast majority, they were willing to sustain the Empire, but only on condition of depriving of all power the Emperor, whose despotism they dreaded.

In the matter of the insurrection in La Vendée, Fouché justified Napoleon's estimate of his value. At the first news of the uprising, he asked and obtained from the Emperor carte blanche to put an end to the trouble by compromising with the leaders. He at once sent for Malartic, one of the royalists who had remained in Paris under his protection, and said to him: "The fate of France is going to be decided in the North. Hostilities will not begin before the 15 June. In the meantime, the revolt in the Vendée will be crushed. Aid me therefore to avoid a useless effusion of French blood. Let the Vendean leaders release their peasants and return quietly home."

This intervention on the part of Fouché led to a temporary pacification which was very favorable to Napoleon, as it released for service in Belgium a force of twenty thousand men. At the same time, Fouché could represent to the Bourbons that his only aim was to save the Vendeans from being crushed. This double game was played by the Minister of Police throughout the Hundred Days.[20]

On the first day of June there took place on the Champ de Mars a majestic ceremony which recalled the Fête of the Federation, the Distribution of the Eagles, and the Coronation. It was given the name of the *Champ de Mai,* from the term used for the political assemblies of the Carolingian kings. In default of the assembly of the Electoral Colleges, which the Emperor had promised the people by his decree at Lyon, he wished

[19] The future King Louis-Philippe. [20] See 1 Houssaye, 573 *et seq.*

to give the delegates, who brought to Paris the results of the plébiscite ratifying the Acte additionnel, at least the souvenir of a magnificent spectacle.[21]

Unfortunately the occasion was marred by a number of *contretemps*, and the spectators, in place of being thrilled, were bored to death. Instead of wearing his usual uniform, with the legendary hat, the Emperor appeared in a most unbecoming costume of white satin, and a toque of black velvet ornamented with white plumes. As some of the spectators irreverently remarked, Napoleon looked as though he were going to a masquerade ball!

The address of the delegate who represented the Electoral Colleges was very eloquent, and was received with great enthusiasm. For a moment, the bad impression made by the Emperor's costume was effaced. If the ceremony had ended there, every one would have left with a fine impression. But the program was far from ended: the Emperor had to reply, and there were over a dozen more features. Napoleon's address, which was largely a repetition of his proclamations of the month of March, was not favorably received. Some of his hearers looked for the announcement of the arrival of his wife and son; others, for his abdication in favor of the Prince Imperial; while others hoped that he would proclaim himself dictator for the duration of the war. All expected an act, and they heard only words. However, a stranger who was present was greatly impressed. "It was a spectacle of a grandeur impossible to describe," wrote Hobhouse.[22]

The list of Peers was drawn up at a meeting of the ministers held on the evening of the 2 June. It included 117 names: the four brothers of the Emperor, Joseph, Lucien, Louis, and Jérôme; the four grand dignitaries, Fesch, Eugène, Cambacérès, and Lebrun; eleven marshals;[23] four admirals; thirty-eight

[21] Owing to various delays, it had been found necessary to postpone this ceremony from the date originally fixed, the 26 May.

[22] 2 Hobhouse, 330.

[23] Namely: Brune, Davout, Grouchy, Jourdan, Lefebvre, Masséna, Moncey, Mortier, Ney, Soult, and Suchet. During the Hundred Days, Brune was gover-

generals; [24] four prelates; ten counsellors of State; all the ministers holding portfolios; a number of high officials; [25] and finally some fifteen representatives of the old noblesse.

The *Séance impériale* took place on the 7 June. After having received the oaths of the peers and the deputies, the Emperor gave his address, which was very favorably received. But it was his exordium which was the most warmly applauded: "For three months past, circumstances and the confidence of the people have invested me with unlimited power. To-day, there is accomplished the strongest desire of my heart: I am about to begin the Constitutional Monarchy. Men are powerless to fix the destinies of nations; institutions alone can guarantee them."

In thus publicly abdicating his sovereign power, the Emperor could hardly conceal the bitterness and the wrath caused him by this act. His face was livid, his voice strident, his features convulsed.[26]

The events of the Hundred Days are well summed up by the brilliant French historian, Henry Houssaye. He writes:

"On reëntering the Tuileries, the 20 March, the Emperor, rejuvenated and reanimated by his triumph, had energy, resolution, hope. 'His genius, so fertile in resources,' declares Molé, 'had recovered all its tireless ardor.' As a man who, alone, had just reconquered France, he said gaily: 'The impossible is only a phantom of the timid, and the refuge of cowards.' He con-

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nor of Marseille; Davout, minister of War; Jourdan, governor of Besançon; Mortier, commander of the Young Guard; Suchet, commander of the Army of the Alps; Grouchy, Ney, and Soult, with the Army; while Lefebvre, Masséna, and Moncey were not employed. Of the remaining fifteen marshals of the Empire, Bernadotte and Murat had long been erased from the list; Bessières, Lannes, and Poniatowski were dead; Augereau, Kellermann, Oudinot, Pérignon, and Saint-Cyr were in disfavor; Berthier, Marmont, and Victor had followed the King; Macdonald refused to serve; and Sérurier was retained as governor of the Invalides.

[24] Including La Bédoyère, Bertrand, Cambronne, Drouot, Drouet d'Erlon, Exelmans, Lallemand, and Lefebvre-Desnoëttes.

[25] Including Lacépède, Lavalette, Montalivet, Molé, Monge, Rœderer, Roger-Ducos, Ségur, and Sieyès.

[26] *Cf.* 5 La Fayette, 443–444; 2 Hobhouse, 19; 2 Carnot, 444.

tinued the dream in which he had marched from Golfe Jouan to Paris. What an awakening! For a period of three weeks, everything gave way to the Emperor, as if by magic. Then everything seemed to turn against him. The Powers put him under the ban of Europe, and arm a million soldiers to exterminate him. The Midi is insurgent, the West rises, the North conspires, disunion spreads over the whole of France. The army lacks men, the arsenals and magazines are empty, the treasury is exhausted. . . .

" Napoleon would have had the force to support these trials, to master this opposition, to defy and dominate all these perils, for the man of the campaign of 1814 had not deteriorated. He had returned to France in the plenitude and the activity of his genius and the power of his will. But if he had not altered, those around him had changed. The same motor was there, but the agents of transmission, worn out or rebellious, no longer obeyed. The administration was inert, the police treacherous, the high command without confidence. Even at the Tuileries, the words, the attitudes of the ministers and of the aides de camp, of the surest and most devoted friends, betrayed doubt, resistance, discouragement. The Emperor realized this only too well, and feeling himself enfeebled and disarmed by the demoralization around him, he too lost faith and energy. He had hours of prostration, moments of anguish, during which sombre visions haunted him of France vanquished and dismembered. In full daylight, he sought in slumber momentary forgetfulness of his thoughts. Carnot surprised him regarding, with great tears in his eyes, the portrait of the Prince Imperial. So much apathy, feebleness, and defection, on the part of those around him, had deprived him of the sentiment of success. He no longer had faith in his star. To Mollien, he said: ' Destiny has changed for me. I have lost there an auxiliary which nothing can replace.' " [27]

[27] Houssaye, 616–619.

CHAPTER SIXTY-TWO

JUNE 1815

THE ENIGMA OF WATERLOO

The Military Situation in March — Napoleon's Plan of Campaign — His Army Crosses the Belgian Frontier — Bourmont's Treason — The Emperor at the Front — Arrival of Ney — The Orders to Ney and Grouchy — Their Failure to Comply — Battle of Ligny — Quatre-Bras — Grouchy Sent in Pursuit of the Prussians — Napoleon Rides to Belle-Alliance — His Quarters at Caillou — Night of the 17–18 June — The Field of Waterloo — Napoleon's Confidence — His Battle Orders — His Unfortunate Delays — An Enigma of History — Napoleon Rides to Charleroi — Capture of His Berline — His Return to Paris — Comments on the Campaign — A Series of Blunders — State of Napoleon's Health — His Remarkable Activity — His *Moral* Impaired — That Explains All

AT THE date of the formation of the Seventh Coalition against Napoleon, the last of March, the Allies had ready to resist a sudden attack from the Emperor in Belgium less than 80,000 men: 30,000 Prussians, 23,000 Anglo-Hanoverians, 14,000 Saxons, and 10,000 Hollando-Belgians. These troops were scattered over a line 200 miles long, from Trèves to Antwerp, and only the English and the Prussians could be considered trustworthy. Wellington was at Vienna, and Blücher at Berlin. Napoleon could have overrun Belgium almost without firing a shot; and, by general admission of the Allies, the occupation of Brussels would have produced a tremendous effect both in France and abroad.

But the idea of this audacious stroke was abandoned by the Emperor as soon as conceived. Everything was lacking for an early campaign: men, arms, horses, supplies. If the military state of France made it impossible for the commander to move at once, the political situation also forbade it to the sovereign. The Emperor, moreover, was unwilling to begin war before exhausting all means of conserving peace.

For a full month Napoleon persisted in believing peace pos-

sible; and it was not until the middle of May, when he had abandoned all hope of avoiding war, that he decided on his plan of campaign. In the meantime, however, he had neglected no measures of preparedness.

Through his secret reports from Vienna and Brussels, and the indiscretions of the foreign press, Napoleon knew in a general way of the plans of the Allies: to invade France the last of June with four large armies, and march from different points concentrically upon Paris. He therefore considered two plans of campaign. The first was to mass 200,000 men within the defences of Paris, and await there the arrival, the last of July, of the Allied forces. This, in effect, would be to recommence the campaign of 1814, but with double the number of men, and with far greater resources.

The second plan, more in accord with his genius, but far more hazardous, was to attack the enemy before he was prepared. This plan was practically forced upon him by political as well as military considerations.

After deciding upon the offensive, the Emperor hesitated for several days upon the point where he would strike the first blow. The plan he finally adopted was a repetition of the manœuvre which had been so successful nineteen years before at the beginning of his military career. This was to strike at the point of junction of the English and the Prussian armies; drive a wedge between them; and then crush each force in turn. The route from Charleroi to Brussels formed the line of contact of the two armies, and it was by this route that the Emperor prepared to strike with the rapidity of lightning.

The orders of concentration were given to the French army corps the first of June, and in ten days 124,000 men[1] were

[1] The organization of the French army was as follows:

First Corps — Drouet D'Erlon	21,000
Second Corps — Reille	25,000
Third Corps — Vandamme	18,000
Fourth Corps — Gérard	15,000
Sixth Corps — Lobau	11,000
Imperial Guard	21,000
Cavalry Reserve — Grouchy	13,000
Total	124,000

united on the Belgian frontier, before the Allies had yet taken any defensive measures. Never was a manœuvre better conceived or better executed. On the night of the 11–12 June Napoleon left Paris, to put himself at the head of his army.

At the same time, Wellington's headquarters were at Brussels, and Blücher's at Namur, and their troops were so scattered that it would require three days for the two armies to concentrate at any one point. On the 15 June, when the French were already crossing the frontier, Wellington was writing a long letter to the Czar, to state how he proposed to take the offensive at the end of the month. Several days before, Blücher had written his wife: "We shall soon enter France. We could just as well remain here a year, for Bonaparte will never attack us."

"Strange to say," writes Lord Wolseley, "the full story of this Waterloo campaign . . . has yet to be written."[2] Notwithstanding the fact that the literature of this campaign alone forms quite a library in itself, so much of the published information upon which we have to rely is contradictory or untrustworthy that it is difficult for the historical student to arrive at the truth.

In accordance with orders despatched from the Imperial headquarters on the evening of the 14 June, the French vanguard crossed the border at three-thirty on the following morning, and marched upon Charleroi in three principal columns. The orders for this movement, writes M. Houssaye, are justly regarded as a model. "Never in the fortunate hours of Austerlitz and Friedland had Napoleon dictated a marching order more carefully studied or better conceived. Never had his genius been more lucid; never had he better shown his application to detail, his broad views regarding the general effect, his perspicacity, and his mastery of war."[3]

Unfortunately, his orders were not so well executed; and his plans were revealed to the Allies by Bourmont, commander of the leading division, who went over to the enemy. In spite of a letter which he left for his corps commander, General Gérard,

[2] Wolseley, *Op. cit.*, 135 and 139. [3] Houssaye, 2 *Op cit.*, 110.

stating that he would give no information capable of injuring the French army, he revealed to the Prussians that the French army, 120,000 strong, would attack Charleroi that afternoon. To the credit of the bluff old Blücher it may be stated that he disdained to speak to the traitor, who had donned a white cockade, saying in his presence: *Qu'importe la cocarde! J. F. sera toujours J. F.!*

Having passed the night of the 14 June at Beaumont, the Emperor traversed Charleroi, at noon, the following day. He stopped near a little country inn, called *Belle-Vue,* at a point several hundred yards from the forking of the roads to Brussels and to Fleurus. From there he had a good view of the whole valley of the Sambre, and could observe the passage of the river by his troops. Dismounting from his horse, he had a chair brought from the inn, and seated himself beside the road, to see his men march by. The soldiers acclaimed him with a perfect frenzy of enthusiasm, and some of the men left the ranks " to embrace the horse of their Emperor." According to the testimony of an observer, Napoleon soon fell asleep in his chair, and even the cheers of the men failed to arouse him.[4] There is nothing surprising, however, in this short nap, as the Emperor had been in the saddle for seven or eight hours, and it is well known that he frequently slept even on the field of battle.

About two o'clock, the Emperor was informed that the Prussians had showed themselves in force at Gosselies; he immediately sent orders to Reille, and later to Drouet d'Erlon, to march on that point. The latter despatch had hardly been sent when Ney arrived, a little after three o'clock. After receiving the Emperor's orders to join the army, he had posted to Avesnes, where he purchased two horses from Mortier, who was laid up with a sudden attack of sciatica, and had then ridden forward, with a single aide de camp, to find the headquarters.

After welcoming the marshal, the Emperor gave him the command of the left wing, made up of the corps of d'Erlon

[4] Notes of Colonel Baudus, cited 2 Houssaye, 118.

and Reille, and ordered him to "push the enemy upon the route to Brussels and take position at Quatre-Bras." [5]

The success of the fine strategic plan conceived by Napoleon at Paris depended upon seizing, before the enemy could occupy it, this important junction point of Quatre-Bras, where the main route from Charleroi to Brussels was intersected by the paved highway from Namur to Nivelles, which the Prussians must use in order to unite with the English. The Emperor therefore proposed to push his left wing directly to Quatre-Bras, and his right to Sombreffe, while he took position himself at Fleurus, the summit of the triangle formed by these three points, ready to attack with his reserve, the following day, whichever of the two armies presented itself.

Grouchy arrived at the moment that the Emperor was giving his instructions to Ney, and shortly afterwards was invested verbally with the command of the right wing. He was ordered to pursue the Prussians to Sombreffe, and take position there. At eight o'clock Napoleon returned to Charleroi, where he passed the night in the house of a forge-master, upon the right bank of the Sambre. He had been in the saddle most of the time for nearly nineteen hours.

Notwithstanding the explicit orders of the Emperor to Ney and Grouchy, neither the left wing nor the right advanced as far as he had directed. Fearing to move too far to be supported by the right wing, Ney, for the first time in his life, yielded to prudence, and gave up the idea of occupying Quatre-Bras. He halted at Gosselies, where he spent the night with the bulk of his forces. The lancers and the chasseurs of the Guard, who were sent forward, were not strong enough to dislodge the small force of Prussians at Quatre-Bras, and that important strategic point remained in the possession of the enemy.

The right wing, likewise, failed to push the Prussians as far as Sombreffe, as directed by the Emperor. Until he received

[5] The partisans of Marshal Ney have claimed that the last five words were not included in this verbal order; but Grouchy, Gourgaud, and Napoleon himself, assert this fact positively; and their statements are confirmed by the official Bulletin, drawn up that evening at Charleroi, which was published in the *Moniteur* of the 18 June. (See 2 Houssaye, 120.)

the verbal order of Napoleon, putting him in charge of the right wing, Grouchy had been in command of the cavalry reserve; and Vandamme refused to continue the advance, saying that his men were too fatigued; besides, "he would receive no orders from the commander of the cavalry." For this *contre-temps*, the Emperor was somewhat to blame, as the written orders, confirming the appointments of Ney and Grouchy, were not issued until the morning of the 16 June.[6]

Nevertheless, the essential point of Napoleon's fine strategic plan had been attained. Almost without resistance, the Emperor had passed the Sambre, penetrated nearly twenty miles into the enemy's territory, and established his army at the point of junction of the allied forces. He had 124,000 men bivouacked within a triangle measuring approximately seven miles on each side.[7]

Although it was daylight on the 16 June shortly after three o'clock, writes Lord Wolseley, Napoleon was so exhausted, after his tremendous efforts of the previous day, that he issued no orders until a late hour in the morning: this gave time for the enemy "to perfect his arrangements for the coming battle."[8]

This statement is absolutely incorrect. The register of the orders of the major-general (Soult) in the French Archives show that the Emperor had decided upon his plans as early as six o'clock, and that the orders were despatched to Ney and Grouchy between seven-thirty and eight-thirty.[9]

But Napoleon had drawn wrong conclusions from the reports of Ney and Grouchy, received on his return to Charleroi the previous evening. He imagined that the enemy was falling back in disorder, the Prussians toward their base at Liége, and the Anglo-Belgians toward Ostende and Antwerp. He therefore proposed to clear the ground of the Prussians, by an advance of his right wing; then, to join Ney at Quatre-Bras, and

[6] Corresp., 22058, 22059.

[7] For the exact positions of the French army on the night of the 15–16 June, see 2 Houssaye, 132, note.

[8] Wolseley, 158–159.

[9] 2 Houssaye, 134 *et seq.*

march on Brussels, where he calculated that his advance guard could arrive at seven-thirty on the morning of the 17 June.[10] In his narratives at Saint Helena, Napoleon naturally drew a veil of silence over his misinterpretation of the enemy's intentions.

On the 16 June was fought the battle of Ligny, which resulted in the complete defeat of the Prussian army, commanded by Blücher. Napoleon left Charleroi before ten o'clock. Arrived at Fleurus, he took his post in a brick mill, and from there directed the combat. About seven-thirty in the evening, he personally oversaw the final charge on the left, which ended the battle. At eleven, he returned to Fleurus, where his headquarters were established in a château near the brick mill.

His most obstinate critics admit that the plan of the Emperor for the battle of Ligny "was quite in his best style"; [11] but they claim that its execution left much to be desired. Through a misunderstanding of orders, the corps of Drouet d'Erlon spent the whole day in marching and countermarching between the two wings of the French army; it was therefore of no assistance either to the Emperor at Ligny or to Ney at Quatre-Bras, and deprived both commanders of a decisive victory.

While the battle of Ligny was being fought, Ney was engaged with Wellington at Quatre-Bras. Regardless of the nine pressing despatches sent him by the Emperor during the course of the day, he was prudent to the point of inertia. As Napoleon said at Saint Helena, "Ney was no longer the same man." [12] The absence of the First Corps was most unfortunate for the French. Thrown into the doubtful struggle at Quatre-Bras, it must have crushed Wellington; present at Ligny, it would have assured the annihilation of Blücher.

But Ney had in hand the corps of Reille, 25,000 strong; and if he had moved promptly he might easily have driven the 7500 men under the Prince of Orange out of the cross-roads. Later in the day, Wellington himself took command, and successive reënforcements brought his forces up to 33,000 men. In the

[10] Corresp., 22059, 22060. [11] Wolseley, 165. [12] Gourgaud, 67–68.

evening he took the offensive; and before darkness stopped the fight he drove the French back to their morning position at Frasnes.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 17 June, the Emperor left the château where he had passed the night. At eleven, he met Grouchy at the Bussy mill, and gave the marshal orders to take up the pursuit of the Prussians, with the Third Corps (Vandamme), the Fourth Corps (Gérard), and the cavalry of Pajol and Exelmans.

During the battle of Ligny, Blücher had been severely injured, and temporarily incapacitated, by a fall; and his second in command, Gneisenau, had given the order to abandon their original base, and retreat on Wavre. In a letter to the King of the Netherlands, a few days later, Wellington said: "It was the decisive moment of the century!"

Napoleon naturally supposed that the Prussians would withdraw toward Namur, so as to cover their base at Liége; but in the despatch to Grouchy, confirming his verbal order, he said: "*It is important to ascertain what Blücher and Wellington wish to do, and whether they propose to reunite their armies to cover Brussels and Liége, in trying the fate of a battle.*" From this letter it is clear that Napoleon contemplated the possibility of the Prussians attempting to join the English.[13]

Shortly before noon, the Emperor was joined at the mill by Soult, and a few minutes later he set out for Quatre-Bras. He began the trip in his berline; but the road was so rough that he soon abandoned the carriage, and mounted his horse.

After the battle, Wellington had gone to Genappe for the night, but he returned to Quatre-Bras early in the morning. Here, about seven-thirty, he learned for the first time of the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, and ordered a retreat to Mont-Saint-Jean. He had recognized the strong defensive features of this position when he visited Brussels the previous year.

The French immediately took up the pursuit, and the Eng-

[13] In the absence of Soult, Napoleon dictated this letter to General Bertrand.

COMTE BERTRAND

lish, " going like mad," fled so precipitately that Captain Mercer compared their course to a " fox-chase."

On reaching Quatre-Bras, the Emperor, accompanied only by his body-guard and a battery of horse-artillery, pressed forward at a gallop, to gain the head of the column, and direct the pursuit. He was mounted on Désirée, a very fast white Arabian mare. It was raining in torrents, and his gray redingote, of very light material, a kind of " duster," was soaked through. His boots were full of water, and the wings of his beaver hat drooped almost to his shoulders. He himself directed the placing of the cannon, and cried to the gunners, with an accent of rage and of hatred: " Fire! fire! they are the English! "

After passing Genappe, the road was so heavy that the pursuit became slower and slower. The paved highway, reserved for the infantry and artillery, was like the bed of a raging torrent. In the adjacent fields, the horses of the cavalry went into the mire up to their knees.

About six-thirty, the Emperor arrived at Belle-Alliance with the vanguard of his army. Across the narrow valley, he could see the masses of cavalry and infantry drawn up on the opposite heights. The whole English army was assembled on the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, ready to accept battle.

Dismounting near the small cabaret of *La Belle-Alliance,*[14] the Emperor indicated their bivouacs to the troops as they arrived. After dark, he retraced his steps about a mile and a half to the Caillou farm,[15] situated upon the border of the road. In this small two-story structure, he passed the night. His chamber was the room on the ground floor, facing the highway. Here his valets set up his little iron camp-bed, with its curtains of green satin. Adjacent, and facing on the garden, was the salon-

[14] The little cabaret of *La Belle-Alliance* was given this name ironically in souvenir of the marriage of the first proprietor, who was old and ugly, with a pretty young peasant girl. (2 Houssaye, 265.) It was located upon the Charleroi-Brussels highway, at the extreme edge of the plateau facing Mont-Saint-Jean. At that date, it was kept by a man named Lacoste, or Decoster, who was used as a guide by Napoleon during the battle.

[15] The Caillou farm-house has since been transformed into an attractive summer residence, in which the owner, M. Coulon, has established a small museum, the most interesting on the battle-field.

salle à manger, where he took his dinner that night, and his breakfast the following morning. The table is still preserved as a sacred relic by the present owners.[16]

It was a most unpleasant night for a bivouac. The rain ceased only for a few minutes at a time, and the fires lighted by the soldiers were quickly extinguished. The men suffered also from hunger: the four days' rations carried in their haversacks had been consumed, and bread could not be distributed until late at night. Never had the *grognards* of the Old Guard growled so loudly!

Retiring at ten o'clock, Napoleon was awakened at one, and made the entire rounds of the advance-posts, accompanied only by General Bertrand. The rain had recommenced, and fell in torrents. On the Emperor's return to Caillou, about daybreak, he found a letter from Grouchy, written at Gembloux at ten o'clock the previous evening. The marshal stated that he was following a column of the Prussians, retreating toward Wavre, " in order to separate them from Wellington." Relying on the statement of his lieutenant, the Emperor did not think it necessary to send him another despatch.

Between four and five o'clock, the Emperor dictated to Soult an order that " the army should be ready to attack at nine o'clock," the positions of the troops being those " which the Emperor had indicated by his order of yesterday evening." [17]

The terrain of the battle-field of Waterloo is very similar to that of Gettysburg. The plateaux of Belle-Alliance and of Mont-Saint-Jean, each about 400 feet high, run approximately from east to west, in nearly parallel lines. They are separated by a shallow valley, about 4000 feet wide.

To see clearly the battle-field of Waterloo, let the reader imagine a large letter A imposed upon the ground. The left down-stroke of the letter is the Nivelles road; the right is the

[16] M. Henry Houssaye writes that he was seated at this same table during an excursion that he made to the theatre of the war. (2 Houssaye, 269, note.)

[17] The final words prove that Napoleon had issued a previous order, between eight and ten o'clock on the night of the 17 June; but there is no record of this order to be found in the French Archives. (See 2 Houssaye, 278, 279, and notes.)

route to Charleroi. The chord of the A is the sunken road from Ohain to Braine-l'Alleud. The top of the A is Mont-Saint-Jean, the position of Wellington; the end of the left down-stroke is the English advance-position of Hougomont, so long held against the assaults of Reille and Jérôme Bonaparte; the other lower end is Belle-Alliance, the station of Napoleon. A little below the point where the chord of the letter meets the right down-stroke is La Haie-Sainte, also occupied by the English. The middle of the chord, where the Belgian Lion now stands, is the exact spot where the Old Guard died, but refused to surrender. The triangle at the top of the A is the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, where the battle raged most fiercely. Behind this plateau, beyond the point of the A, is the forest of Soignes; and a little farther on is the hamlet of Waterloo, which gave its name to the battle.[18]

The position chosen by Wellington was one of great natural strength. Nearly the entire length of the English line was protected by a series of natural obstacles. To the east of the Brussels highway, the Ohain-Braine-l'Alleud road was bordered on either side by a high solid line of hedges, impassable by cavalry; to the west of the highway, the road, for a distance of a quarter of a mile, was sunken five or six feet below the surface.[19]

From the edge of the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, the ground sloped downward to the north, so that the troops in second line, and the reserves, were concealed from sight, and partly protected from fire. Add to all of these features the strong advance-positions of Hougomont and La Haie-Sainte, and a good idea

[18] Because Wellington's despatch of the 19 June, announcing his victory, was dated from that point.

[19] In constructing the artificial mound upon which the Belgian Lion is placed, immense quantities of earth were taken from the surrounding country, and this sunken road can no longer be seen. This fact has led some writers to doubt, or deny, that it ever existed. But it is plainly shown on the engineer's map prepared by Craan, and published at Brussels in 1816. (See 2 Houssaye, 300, note; also a reproduction of the map at the end of the same volume.)

can be formed of the terrain selected by Wellington for his battle.

In numbers, the two adversaries were nearly equal. Wellington had 68,000 men and 184 guns; Napoleon had 74,000 men and 266 guns.[20]

About eight o'clock the Emperor took breakfast at the Caillou farm with Maret, Soult, Drouot, and several general officers. He was in good humor, and very confident of success. He declared that the chances in his favor were ninety out of a hundred. Soult, who knew the ground,[21] and who had encountered the English many times in Spain, was less optimistic; and he advised the Emperor to recall a part of the troops placed under the orders of Grouchy. Napoleon impatiently rejected this proposition, saying brutally: "Because you have been beaten by Wellington, you regard him as a great general. And I myself tell you that Wellington is a poor general, that the English are poor troops, and that this will be an affair of déjeuner." — "I hope so," replied Soult.

A little later, Reille and Jérôme came in, and the Emperor asked the former his opinion of the English, whom he had often encountered in Spain. Reille replied that he thought they were practically invincible in such a strong position, but that they could be manœuvred out of it. As a matter of fact, both ends of the English line were "in the air," and Reille's suggestion was good; but Napoleon waved it aside.

The sun was now shining brightly, and a fresh breeze had sprung up: the ground was rapidly drying. The Emperor called for his horse, and rode to the front. It was about nine o'clock. After surveying the field from Belle-Alliance, he returned nearly a mile, to the Rossomme farm, where he took his position on a mound which gave him a good view. A chair was brought him from the farm-house, and a small table, upon which he unrolled his maps. Placing himself astride the chair, Napoleon took a nap of nearly an hour. According to the

[20] 2 Houssaye, 306 and 322.

[21] As chief of staff of Lefebvre, on the 9 July 1794, he had carried by assault this same plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, then defended by the Austrians.

testimony of an eye-witness, he continued to sleep soundly, notwithstanding the loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* with which the soldiers acclaimed him as they defiled by.[22] About two o'clock, when the battle was seriously engaged, Napoleon moved forward to another eminence near the cabaret of Lacoste.

At eleven o'clock, when the troops were all deployed in line of battle, the Emperor again mounted his horse, and held his last review. He then dictated to Soult his final orders, from which it would appear that he did not expect to begin the attack before one o'clock.[23] This order reveals clearly that Napoleon's object was to pierce the English centre, and throw the army into the impassable forest of Soignes.

"If it had not rained on the night of the 17 to the 18 June 1815," says Victor Hugo, "the future of Europe would have been different. Several drops of water, more or less, caused the downfall of Napoleon."[24]

Napoleon was educated as an artillery officer, and he always showed a predeliction for this arm of the service. In his later campaigns, as his soldiers deteriorated in quality, he relied more and more upon his guns, to prepare the way for the final decisive assault. This was particularly the case at Wagram. At Waterloo, he counted all the more upon his artillery as he had the preponderance on his side: 266 pieces against the 184 of Wellington. If the ground had been dry, he would have begun the action at six o'clock in the morning: the battle would have been won and ended by two o'clock, three hours before the arrival of the Prussians. But, upon the report of Drouot, he decided to defer the attack until midday, because it was impossible to manœuvre the guns "in a sea of mud."

We shall not attempt to retell here the story of Waterloo. The battle still remains one of the enigmas of history. It is as obscure for those who gained it, as for the one who lost it.

[22] Bapst, 1 *Souvenirs du maréchal Canrobert,* 352. See also *Chronique médicale,* 15 février 1907.

[23] Corresp., 22060: Ordre, 18 juin, 11 heures du matin.

[24] Hugo, 2 *Les Misérables,* 48.

For Napoleon, it is a panic: "A battle terminated, a day ended, false measures repaired, a greater success assured for the morrow — all was lost in a moment of panic terror." [25]

In the words of Victor Hugo: "The man who won the battle of Waterloo was not Napoleon, who was routed; it was not Wellington, giving way at four o'clock, in despair at five; it was not Blücher, who did not fight; the man who gained the battle of Waterloo was Cambronne."

In the fading twilight, at the foot of the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, there remained only one square of the Old Guard. An English general — Maitland perhaps — ordered his men to withhold their fire, and cried: "Brave Frenchmen, surrender!" Cambronne replied: "The Guard dies, but never surrenders!" These words are immortal.

After the last volleys, like a man in a dream, the Emperor slowly rode off the field. He was accompanied only by Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, Lobau, and five or six horsemen of the Guard. Behind them, they could hear the cheers of the victorious Englishmen.

Toward midnight, they arrived at the village of Genappe, which consisted only of a single long street, ending at the bridge over the Dyle. The town was full of fugitives from the battle-field, and the Emperor took over an hour to traverse the crowd. Here, by chance, he found his campaign carriage, amid the abandoned equipages, and entered it. But before there was time to attach the horses, the cries of the pursuers were heard; the Emperor was forced to descend again, and remount his horse. The berline was captured later by the Prussians,[26] who found in it the Emperor's travelling case, a sword, and an extra uniform, in the lining of which were sewed a lot of unmounted diamonds, worth a million francs, the gift, it is said, of Joseph.[27]

[25] *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène.*

[26] See Vol. I, page 210.

[27] "When the Emperor left Paris, Joseph handed him, for the needs of the army, some unmounted diamonds, wrapped in separate papers, of the value of 800,000 francs. The Emperor had them locked up in his carriage, in a secret

Passing through Quatre-Bras, about one o'clock, the Emperor arrived at Charleroi at five o'clock in the morning. After giving some orders, which were not followed, to rally the fugitives, he proceeded to Philippeville, which he reached at nine o'clock. He had with him Bertrand, Drouot, and Flahaut; and he was soon rejoined by Maret, Fleury, and Soult.

He wrote two letters to Joseph, one to be read to the Ministers, in which the disaster was attenuated; the other, personal, in which nothing was concealed. Then he drafted the bulletins of the battles of Ligny and of Mont-Saint-Jean, which were published in the *Moniteur* of the 21 June. After this he started in a postal-carriage for Paris, where he descended at the Élysée at eight o'clock on the morning of the 21 June. It is absurd to claim that he "abandoned" his army, as in Egypt and in Russia. Alas! he no longer had any army, and his duties to the State were now paramount.

In the opinion of the best military critics, Napoleon's plan of battle was a masterpiece: to strike directly at the centre of Wellington's line; [28] carry Mont-Saint-Jean; seize Brussels; drive the English into the sea, the Prussians into the Rhine — such was Napoleon's fine conception. But how many faults in the execution of his plan! Many of these errors were due to his lieutenants, but the Emperor cannot escape his share of the blame.

Upon the field of battle, Napoleon always left to his lieutenants the details of the execution of his plans, and this policy was generally correct.[29] But at Waterloo the conditions were different from those in his other battles. Never in the wars of the Revolution and of the Empire had so large a number of combatants occupied so restricted a terrain. From the farm

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compartment of his dressing-case, with the necklace which the Princess Pauline had given him at the time of his departure from the island of Elba, and which was worth 300,000 to 400,000 francs. Joseph had confided in the good faith of the Emperor, and, as well as Pauline, had at the time received no value in exchange. The case was unusual, and does them honor." (11 Masson, 313.)

[28] Clausewitz, although advocating an attack upon Wellington's right, admits that only an assault upon the centre could have had decisive results.

[29] See Jomini, *Précis de la Campagne de 1815*, 229.

of Mont-Saint-Jean, the position of Wellington's last reserves, to the Caillou farm, where the Imperial treasury and the trains were under the protection of a battalion of chasseurs of the Old Guard, the distance was about two miles and a half, and the front of each of the two armies was less than two miles in length.[30] The Emperor, therefore, had his army well in hand, and there is no reason why he should not have supervised, and directed more closely, the execution of his plans.

On the report of Drouot, which he made no effort to verify, Napoleon put off the attack from six o'clock until after eleven, and these five hours saved the English army.

He allowed Reille and Jérôme, under his very eyes, to spend hours in a demonstration against Hougomont, in which half of the Second Corps was uselessly sacrificed. He permitted Ney, with more than 30,000 bayonets, to be held up for hours before La Haie-Sainte, defended only by five companies. He neglected to supervise the operations of Lobau, who, with the 10,000 veterans of the Sixth Corps, should have been able to hold off much longer the 30,000 Prussians, as they arrived gradually on the field. He failed to support the cavalry charges of Ney with infantry, and he finally sent in his Old Guard when it was too late.

From so many errors committed at Waterloo, Charras, Yorck de Wartenburg, and Lord Wolseley have concluded that the Emperor, prostrated by his malady, remained inert, far from the battle-field, and allowed the combat to take its course. Colonel Baudus reports that Napoleon, during the battle, " was plunged in a kind of apathy." According to oral traditions, cited by Marshal Canrobert, the Emperor slept during the battle.[31] But these reports are denied by Regnault, Foy, and many others, who were present at the battle. Besides, there are the facts, which speak louder than all the words:

At eleven, the Emperor dictated his order of attack. At

[30] Under the usual formation, the first French line (seven divisions of infantry and two of cavalry) would have occupied a front of ten miles. (2 Houssaye, 323, note.)

[31] He also slept at Jena and at Wagram, but this did not prevent him from winning the battles!

eleven-fifteen, he directed the assault on Hougomont. At one, he wrote Grouchy. At one-thirty, he sent Lobau to hold back the Prussians, and instructed Ney to assault Mont-Saint-Jean. At three-thirty, he ordered Ney to carry La Haie-Sainte. At four-thirty, he ordered the Guard up to Belle-Alliance. At five, he sent the Young Guard to the support of Lobau. At five-thirty, at six, and at seven, he gave other important orders. Later, he personally supervised the formation of the Old Guard for the final attack.

"Never," writes Henry Houssaye, "never did Napoleon exercise more effectually the command, never was his action more direct. But, restricted precisely to this rôle of *sergent de bataille,* condemned by Maurice de Saxe, he was entirely occupied in guarding against the mistakes, the oversights, and the false moves of his lieutenants." [32]

Let us review briefly these memorable days when, according to Lord Wolseley, Napoleon "was under a veil of lethargy." On the 15 June, the Emperor rose at three o'clock in the morning, and was in the saddle most of the time until he returned to Charleroi at ten in the evening. On the 16th, he was up at four; rode to Fleurus at nine; directed the battle of Ligny, and did not retire until after ten at night. On the 17th, he reviewed his troops at ten, rode to Belle-Alliance, and did not get to bed before ten at night. On the 18th, he arose at one o'clock, made the tour of the advance-posts in the rain, was on the field at nine, and remained until the final repulse of the Old Guard, after dark. Then he rode to Charleroi, a distance of twenty miles from Belle-Alliance. Thus, during a period of ninety-six hours, this man, who is pictured to us as prostrated by his malady; without energy; overcome by somnolence; incapable of mounting a horse, took hardly twenty hours of sleep in all, and was in the saddle nearly forty hours!

In 1815, Napoleon still had the strength to endure the fatigues of a campaign,[33] and his mind had lost none of its power;

[32] 2 Houssaye, 503.

[33] On the subject of Napoleon's health during the Hundred Days, see Appendix O.

but his *moral* was impaired. At Saint Helena he said: "I no longer had in me the feeling of definite success. My earlier confidence was lacking. I felt Fortune abandon me. . . . I had the instinct of an unfavorable outcome." [34]

This state of mind explains the irresolution shown by the Emperor during the campaign, the hours lost, the respites allowed the enemy. Throughout his career, Napoleon had always been an audacious gambler; now that he felt himself abandoned by Fortune, he became a timid player; he measured the chances pro and con; he wished to place his stakes only upon a certainty. *Il n'osa plus risquer tout pour tout sauver!*

[34] 7 Las Cases, 179–183.

CHAPTER SIXTY-THREE

MARCH — JUNE 1815

THE FAMILY AT PARIS

Joseph Returns from Prangins — He Makes His Escape Just in Time — He Is Reinstated in His Dignities — His Fine Attitude during the Hundred Days — Lucien Leaves for France — His Aspirations — His Arrival at Charenton — His Failure to See the Emperor — Departure for Rome — Invitation to Return — His New Honors — Jérôme Flees from Trieste — Encounter with Murat — Finally Reaches Naples — Pauline Sails for Italy — She Is Interned in Tuscany — Madame Joins Fesch at Naples — She Sails for France with the Cardinal and Jérôme — Their Safe Arrival at Paris — The Emperor Regulates the Family Finances — Jérôme's Services during the Campaign

AS SOON as he learned of the return of the Emperor, Joseph left Prangins, and arrived at the Tuileries on the 23 March. He was accompanied by his two daughters, and was rejoined by his wife, who had been detained at Paris by the illness and the death of her mother, Madame Clary. They took up their residence at the Élysée, until Napoleon went there the middle of April, and then moved to the former Hôtel Langeron, Faubourg Saint-Honoré.

Joseph had left Prangins on the evening of the 19th, after concealing in the park of the château his papers and his valuables. A few hours later he passed the Swiss frontier at Fort de l'Ecluse; he was recognized and cheered at Dijon, where he changed horses, and proceeded to Paris as rapidly as permitted by the difficulty in obtaining relays.

He made his escape from Prangins just in time. The morning after his departure, a Swiss commissioner arrived at the château with a troop of cavalry, to take possession of his person, and conduct him to Berne. As early as the 4 March, Talleyrand had sent orders from Vienna to have Joseph taken to Gratz, as it was dangerous to let him reside so near the

French frontier. These instructions were resisted by the Austrian minister, and by Baron de Vincy, whose devotion to the Bourbons was above suspicion. The latter, a neighbor of Joseph, wrote Talleyrand, "I can give you my guarantee that he conducts himself well, sees no one, and is involved in no intrigues."

Two weeks later (17 March), the situation was entirely changed by the surprising effrontery of Joseph, who sent to the Austrian minister at Zurich, by a special courier, Napoleon's proclamation at Grenoble, with a letter in which he said: "The Army, the Nation, Paris recall the Emperor. The reign of the Bourbons has been for France only a nightmare. Soon Napoleon will have remounted his throne. He wishes only for peace, to assure the repose and the happiness of the world. . . ."

After reading this communication, the ministers of the Powers at Zurich decided to address a note to the Swiss Government demanding that Joseph should be arrested, his papers seized, and that he should be conducted to Schaffhausen, where he would be so guarded that he could neither receive nor send any couriers or letters.

It would appear that Joseph was well informed regarding the moves of his adversaries, for, when the Swiss officials appeared at Prangins, he had already taken flight.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that Joseph had no news in advance of the intentions of his brother to leave Elba. Until he received the announcement of Napoleon's arrival at Lyon, he was absolutely in the dark. Then he began to move; and it is probable that he received from the Emperor instructions to make known to Austria his pacific assurances. At the same time Joseph also sent a courier to Murat, but his despatch arrived too late to influence events, as the King of Naples had already begun hostilities.

On his arrival at Paris, Joseph was very cordially welcomed by the Emperor. He was offered the use of the Élysée until midsummer, when the heat would render the Tuileries uncomfortable for his brother, and was promised an allowance of one

million francs for the remainder of the year, after which he would receive his former appanage of two millions.

He was given a military staff by the Emperor, but no effort was made to organize a civil household. His former attendants, in fact, were not available: Jaucourt had followed the King to Ghent, Girardin was at Versailles, and Rœderer was on a mission in the South.

On the 21 May, the Emperor ordered prepared a decree reinstating Joseph in his functions of grand-elector. The duties were not defined, but the position carried with it at least the presidency of the Council of Ministers during the absence of the sovereign. At the same time, Napoleon assigned his brother as residence the Hôtel de Valentinois, which he had purchased some years before of Talleyrand, and which had been occupied since the Restoration by the Duchesse de Bourbon. But Joseph declined to occupy this mansion. On every occasion, during the Hundred Days, he gave proofs of an absolute devotion to the interests of the Emperor. He displayed a good sense, only too rare, at the same time as a very sound appreciation of the precarious condition of his brother's affairs. To him must also be given the credit of having been the principal instigator, if not the author, of the reconciliation between Napoleon and Lucien.[1]

Lucien had attempted to act as arbitrator between the Pope and Murat, and when all negotiations failed he announced his intention of leaving Rome at the same time as the Holy Father, *his sovereign* (*il mio sovrano*). The Pope departed on the 22 March, and Lucien, faithful to his promise, set out two days later, accompanied by Père Maurice, who for ten years had been a member of his household. Lucien was provided with both Papal and Austrian passports, and Père Maurice had another passport, to London, for himself and his secretary. As previously, when he left England, Lucien was to play the rôle of secretary. The ostensible destination of the Prince de Canino was London, where his eldest daughter had remained, under the protection of Mme. Boyer; but the real object of his

[1] *Cf.* 11 Masson, 108.

journey was to rejoin the Emperor at Paris, where he hoped at last to be recognized as a member of the Imperial Family.

As the presence of his wife might prove embarrassing, and as, besides, she was once more enceinte, he left her behind at Rome.[2]

Travelling by way of Florence and Milan, Lucien and his companion crossed the Simplon into Switzerland, and reached Geneva. After a brief stop, they entered France, and proceeded to Charenton, in the southern suburbs of Paris.[3]

In his memoirs, Lucien has endeavored to convey the impression that the initiative of this journey came from Joseph and the Emperor, whereas, according to Père Maurice, it came from Lucien himself. This version is supported by Fleury, who states: "As soon as Prince Lucien learned of Napoleon's arrival at Paris, he wrote him a letter of felicitations, saying, 'Your return crowns your military glory, but there is another glory even grander, and above all more desirable, that is civil glory.'" On the margin of the letter, Napoleon wrote *Faux* (*False*); but it is somewhat doubtful whether he meant this epithet to apply to Lucien himself, or to the sentiment expressed in the letter.

On learning of Lucien's arrival, there was an exchange of numerous communications between Joseph and the Prince de Canino, and Père Maurice was finally asked to come and see Joseph at the Élysée, where he was then residing. Joseph then conducted Maurice to the Tuileries, where he had an interview with the Emperor. Napoleon, however, talked only of his relations with the Pope, and had nothing to say about his brother.

[2] She gave birth six months later (12 September) to a son who was named Pierre-Napoléon. It was he who killed Victor Noir in January 1870, during the closing days of the Second Empire. His only son, Roland, a distinguished French scientist, died in 1923, leaving one daughter, Marie, who married, in 1907, Prince George of Greece. (See Biographical Notes.)

[3] Père Maurice has given two accounts of their journey, one written in French, published by Jung (3 Lucien, 232); the other, more detailed, in Italian, printed at Verona in 1900. An entirely different version, and apparently less reliable, is given by Lucien himself, in the notes which he prepared as a basis for his memoirs.

At the end of the interview, he gave orders to show the State apartments to Père Maurice, who, having no further instructions, then returned to Charenton, and reported to his master. After waiting several days, Père Maurice received from the Emperor some despatches, addressed to Cardinal Fesch at Rome, and he and Lucien took their departure for Switzerland.

On his arrival at Prangins, Lucien was notified that he was liable to be arrested if he remained in Switzerland, so he immediately recrossed the French frontier, and went to Versoix. There he remained about three weeks, until he received, on the 4 May, an invitation from the Emperor to return to Paris.

The reason for this change of policy on the part of Napoleon seems to have been that, having decided to accept the rôle of a Constitutional monarch, he desired to avail himself of the talents and the experience of Lucien in managing popular assemblies. He remembered the services which his brother had rendered on the occasion of the coup d'état of the 18 Brumaire, and wished to have Lucien once more at his side.

Arriving at Paris on the 8 May, Lucien went to the hôtel of Cardinal Fesch, Rue de Mont-Blanc. From there, on the following day, he addressed a letter to the Emperor, in which he said: "My desire is to serve you, and to prove my devotion. I beg Your Majesty to recall us to the Imperial dynasty, and to believe that no one is more devoted to you than your faithful brother and subject, LUCIEN."

In an account of the Hundred Days, Lucien wrote: "If I again drew near to the Emperor, it was only through fraternal devotion. Such was the only sentiment that animated me during the Hundred Days."[4] This statement was false, like so many others in Lucien's writings. His letter to the Emperor proves that he was actuated, not so much by fraternal devotion, as by the desire to have himself and his family placed in the Imperial dynasty.

At the interview with the Emperor, which followed the receipt of this letter, Napoleon, according to Lucien, "placed upon his neck the grand cordon of the Légion d'honneur which

[4] Lucien Bonaparte, *La vérité sur les Cent-Jours*, 68.

he had worn on his journey from the island of Elba," with the words, " It is too shameful for me that you do not have it." [5]

In the formal decree, under date of the 9 May, conferring upon Lucien the grand aigle of the Order, he was designated for the first time as " le Prince Lucien." At the same time, the Emperor gave Lucien as a residence the Palais-Royal, " en toute propriété." In his note to the grand marshal, Napoleon regulated Lucien's position in the Imperial Family, with the words: " Le prince Lucien passe après le prince Louis et avant le prince Jérôme."

This note, however, was not official, and it was not until two weeks later (23 May) that the formal decree was issued, conferring upon Lucien his new rights. But this decree, by its terms, expressly excluded Lucien and his family from any dynastic pretensions; as did also the *Almanach impérial, supplément de 1815,* in which the princes called to the succession lose the name of Bonaparte to take that of Napoléon. We find: Joseph-Napoléon, Louis-Napoléon, Jérôme-Napoléon, but only Lucien Bonaparte. From this we may conclude that, if the Emperor had received his brother, and restored him to a place in the Family, he had not instated him in the Imperial dynasty.[6]

A phrase in the Emperor's address on the occasion of the Champ de Mai would seem to indicate that, as soon as victory had assured his position, it was his intention to regulate this, and other matters; but, during the Hundred Days, he was forced to leave many things in suspense.

The first rumors of the Emperor's departure from Elba reached Trieste on the 11 March. At that time, Catherine and

[5] This was the decoration for which Lucien had pleaded in vain at the time of their celebrated Mantua interview in December 1807. (See Vol. I, page 288.)

[6] This essential distinction was recognized, and again placed in force, by Napoleon the Third during the Second Empire. Article I, of the *Dispositions relatives aux princes et princesses de la famille de l'Empereur,* reads: " The sons of the brothers and sisters of the Emperor Napoleon the First who do not form part of the Imperial Family will bear the titles of Prince and of Highness with their family name."

her baby were both very ill, and the physicians had advised her to go to the baths of Lucca or of Pisa for the summer. Jérôme had asked permission of the Powers at Vienna, and in the meantime was continuing his negotiations for the *terre comtale*, twenty-five miles from Trieste, where he proposed to go with his family until the opening of the season at the watering-places.

The news regarding Napoleon was soon confirmed by a letter from Élisa, and Jérôme, fearing measures against his liberty, decided to leave Trieste at once. Through a devoted Corsican friend, the consul of Naples at Trieste, he secured the use of a launch which had come from Naples to bear despatches to the consul. On the evening of the 24 March, he went aboard, with three aides de camp, all dressed in civilian costumes, and the boat sailed at once. He was just in time: two days before, Metternich had sent him orders to go to Prague.

On the 28 March, the launch anchored near Pesaro, midway between Ancona and Rimini. Jérôme sent two of his aides ashore to reconnoitre, and they brought back the report that the highway was occupied by the Austrians. The launch again set sail, and soon reached a point near Ancona, where the Neapolitan troops were found in possession. Jérôme landed, and shortly encountered King Murat, who embraced him cordially, and did not seem at all surprised at meeting him.

Joachim announced that he was at war with Austria; that he had no alliance with England, and no assurance of succor from the Emperor; but this was immaterial, as Italy, "rising *en masse*, would furnish him an army of 150,000 men, with which he would fear no one." Jérôme was far from sharing these optimistic views; and he said in a letter to Catherine that Murat was rushing headlong to his doom, with the abyss already yawning before him.

Nevertheless, Jérôme followed the Neapolitan army, relying upon the assurances of Murat that his troops would occupy Bologna in a few days; and that, from there, Jérôme could proceed to Leghorn, where he would find at his disposal a Neapolitan vessel, the *Capoue*.

On the second day of April, Murat occupied Bologna, which was abandoned by the Austrians; and Jérôme installed himself at a small country mansion belonging to Élisa, while awaiting the occupation by the Neapolitans of Florence and Leghorn. On the 4th, relying still upon Joachim's assurances, Jérôme proceeded to Florence, which he found in the possession of the Austrians. He had a narrow escape from being captured, and evaded the Austrian hussards with much difficulty. He then returned to Bologna, where he arrived on the 7th; the following day he was at Ancona; and on the 11th he reached Portici,[7] where he found, besides his sister Caroline, his mother, and his uncle, Fesch.

On the 26 February, Madame wrote Lucien that she expected to sail from Elba in three days, if the weather were favorable. With her usual prudence, she said, "The Emperor has left with his whole troop, but I do not know for what destination." She asked her two sons, Lucien and Louis, to meet her at Civita Vecchia; and announced her intention of returning to Rome, provided no objections were made.

However, Madame did not leave at once, but waited to receive news. On the 28th, Colonel Campbell returned from Leghorn, and was much enraged to learn of the Emperor's departure. He saw Pauline, and was so insulting in his language that she feared for her own safety. She therefore decided to leave at once, and await the outcome of events at a château of her sister Élisa, in Lucca. At two o'clock on the morning of the 4 March she sailed on a small vessel, accompanied only by Mme. le Bel, the Comtesse de Molo, a courier, and four domestics. About three o'clock in the afternoon she landed in the Maremme of Volterra, near the old tower of San Vincenzo. After several hours of repose in the tower, Pauline sailed again, and reached Viareggio at noon the following day. She immediately proceeded to the château of Compignano situated upon a mountain some two or three miles from the city.

During the night, the château was surrounded by a detach-

[7] A small place, near Naples, containing a royal palace.

ment of Austrian troops, who had been notified of her presence by the mayor of Viareggio; and in the morning the princess was informed that she was a prisoner of State. Here, for the moment, we must leave poor Paulette, confined in this immense and dreary château, without a lover, without a physician, without a household. The Austrian Government was so elated over the capture of at least one member of the dreaded Bonaparte family that the great event was announced at Vienna in a special bulletin!

Madame remained at Porto-Ferrajo until the 2 April, when she embarked on the *Joachim,* a Neapolitan frigate of 74 guns, sent by her daughter Caroline. Two days later, she was at Portici, where she found her brother, Cardinal Fesch, who had arrived from Rome on the first of April.

At this time, Fesch had received neither his nomination as ambassador to Rome, nor the Emperor's letter to the Pope, as all of the papers confided to Père Maurice had been destroyed by Lucien at Versoix on the 12 April. It was not until three weeks later that the cardinal received the duplicates. He was also accredited as minister *ad interim* to Naples, pending the arrival of the regular minister. But, at the moment, there was no Pope at Rome, and no King at Naples, with whom he could treat.

On the 19 April, Madame embarked, with Fesch and Jérôme, on the *Joachim,* to sail for France, but unfavorable winds forced the vessel to return to port. On the 30th, there arrived the *Melpomène,* a French vessel sent by the Emperor, but she was fired on, and captured by the *Rivoli,* a much larger English vessel. Ten days later, another French ship, the *Dryade,* 44 guns, succeeded in reaching Gaeta. The party then proceeded to that port, and sailed for France on the 13 May. After a stop of a few days at Bastia, they landed in the Golfe Jouan on the 22 May.

They set out immediately for Paris, by way of Fréjus, Aix, and Avignon. Jérôme left his mother and his uncle en route, in order to reach Paris sooner, and arrived in the capital on the 27 May. He states: "I was well received by the Emperor,

whom I found absolutely the same as when I left him — changed in no respect."

Napoleon asked his brother what command he would like to take, and Jérôme, with unusual modesty, replied that " a company, a regiment, or a division would satisfy him as well as an army." The Emperor promised him a division, to begin with, and perhaps a higher command later. This was satisfactory to Jérôme; but he was much incensed at the precedence given Lucien in civil affairs. After the sacrifice which he had made, and which Lucien had constantly refused to make, Jérôme felt that it was most unjust for the Emperor to subordinate him to his brother restored to grace.

Madame and Fesch arrived at Lyon on the evening of the 26 May, and went to the residence of the cardinal. On the 29th, the Emperor ordered Carnot to telegraph Fesch to come to Paris, to celebrate the Mass on the occasion of the Champ de Mai, but the weather was so unfavorable that the semaphore despatch could not be sent. He finally reached Paris on the 2 June, after the termination of the ceremonies.

Soon after his arrival at Paris the Emperor took up the question of the finances of the members of his family. He decided that nothing should be paid them, on account of their former allowances, for the period from the first of April 1814 to the 20 March 1815, except the sums allotted them under the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Accordingly, on the 3 May, the Minister of the Treasury signed a decree providing for the payment, in eight equal installments during the remaining months of 1815, of the amounts due Madame, Hortense, and the estate of Joséphine, as of the first of April 1814; also of the sums due under the Treaty of Fontainebleau to the different members of the family. The total amount was in excess of five million francs, but only a small part of these arrears was ever paid. Joseph, Lucien, and Jérôme each received 83,000 francs, and Hortense, about 42,000, for the month of June.

The Emperor certainly was not very liberal to his family during the Hundred Days, but he probably did all that was

possible, considering the state of the Treasury, and the hostility of public opinion toward the whole Bonaparte family.[8]

Thus, the first of June, more than half the members of the Imperial Family were gathered around the Emperor at Paris: Madame, Fesch, Joseph, Lucien, Jérôme, Julie, and Hortense; while Alexandrine, Catherine, Élisa, Pauline, Caroline, and Louis were interned in Italy.

During the brief absence of the Emperor with the army, Joseph and Lucien played very insignificant rôles at Paris. Marshal Davout, in his double capacity of Minister of War and Governor of Paris, was in sole charge of military affairs, while in civil matters Fouché was all-powerful.

Jérôme accompanied the army, as commander of a division of the Second Corps. During the engagement at Quatre-Bras he had a narrow escape from being seriously wounded, if not killed. A musket ball hit the pommel of his sword, which fortunately was of heavy, solid gold, and did not resemble the pommels of the small dress-swords, like those of the Emperor, which he usually wore. He only suffered slightly from the shock. Almost at the same moment, the Duke of Brunswick, leading his cavalry to the charge, was mortally wounded, and died that night at Quatre-Bras.[9]

At Waterloo, Jérôme was engaged with the Second Corps in the attack on Hougomont. About three o'clock he rejoined the Emperor, and remained with him until after the final repulse of the Old Guard. He did not accompany Napoleon from the field, but "arrived at Avesnes the following day, having constantly formed the rear-guard, with a battalion and a squadron." This statement of Jérôme's can hardly be correct, as the Emperor himself did not reach Avesnes until the morning of the 20th, having ridden fifty miles in thirty-six hours.

Marshal Soult having taken command of the wreck of the army, Jérôme went on the 22 June to Soissons, and from there proceeded to Paris.

[8] *Cf.* 11 Masson, 156–159.

[9] He was a first cousin of Jérôme's wife, Catherine, and had distinguished himself in 1809 by the invasion of Westphalia.

CHAPTER SIXTY-FOUR

20 JUNE — 15 JULY 1815

THE SECOND ABDICATION

News of Waterloo — Return of Napoleon — Caulaincourt and Davout — Meeting of the Council — Napoleon's Plans — Action of the Chamber — The Ministers Yield — Popular Manifestations — Napoleon's Stand — Night Sessions of the Chambers — Demand for the Emperor's Abdication — Napoleon Submits — Proclaims His Son Emperor — Fouché Heads the Provisional Government — Napoleon Plans for His Exile — He Moves to Malmaison — Arrival of Beker — Souvenirs of Joséphine — Financial Arrangements — Numerous Visitors — Napoleon's Offer to Resume Command Rejected — He Leaves for Rochefort — Stop at Niort — Arrival of Joseph — Napoleon Declines His Offer of a Boat — Stay at Rochefort — Napoleon Boards the *Saale* — Opens Negotiations with Maitland — Decides to Surrender to England — Letter to the Prince Regent — Goes Aboard the *Bellerophon.*

ON SUNDAY, the 18th June, Paris was awakened by the guns of the Invalides, which announced the glad tidings of a new victory — destined to be the last one of the Empire. The *Moniteur* soon appeared, with a six-line despatch, dated the evening of the 16th, stating that the Emperor had defeated at Ligny the armies of Wellington and of Blücher. Every one felt somewhat reassured, although it had been the general opinion that the Emperor would win the first engagements.

The public exultation continued for two days, and then, on the afternoon of the 20th, Joseph received the alarming letter which the Emperor had written him the previous day, from Philippeville. Napoleon related the disaster of Waterloo, without making any attempt to attenuate it, and announced his immediate return to Paris.

Joseph at once called a meeting of the Council, which assembled that evening at the Tuileries. He then read to the

ministers the second letter from the Emperor, received at the same time, which was somewhat less frank regarding the issue of the battle. In view of the early return of Napoleon, there was no general discussion, but it was the universal opinion that he ought to remain with the army, and a despatch to that effect was sent him. It is not known whether this message reached the Emperor; but, in any event, it could not have changed his resolution. Both for the defence of his country, and for the safety of his crown, Napoleon felt that, for several days, his place was at Paris. Even Lucien admits that his brother could not have acted in any other manner.[1]

Hortense, Lavalette, and Savary were the only persons, outside of the ministry, to receive the bad news that evening. When so many persons were informed, it is a remarkable fact that the secret was so well guarded. There were rumors of unfavorable despatches received at the Tuileries, but nothing definite was known.

On Wednesday morning, the 21 June, at eight o'clock, Napoleon arrived at the Élysée. With him were Bertrand and Drouot, three aides de camp, an écuyer, and his military secretary, Fleury. Maret, who left him at Laon the previous evening, had already reached Paris.

Anticipating the hour for which Joseph had summoned the ministers, Caulaincourt was already at the palace. He rushed to meet the Emperor, as he descended from his carriage. Napoleon seemed overcome with grief and fatigue. His face was pale, his features drawn, his eyes lifeless. In a panting voice, he said: "The army did wonders; it was seized with panic. All has been lost. . . . Ney acted like a madman; he made me massacre all my cavalry. . . . I am worn out. . . . I must have two hours of repose before taking up my affairs." Placing his hand on his chest, he added, "I am stifled there!"

Caulaincourt, who had lacked confidence from the first, could find no words to comfort the Emperor. He expressed his opinion that no support could be looked for in the Chambers, and his regret that the Emperor had not remained with the

[1] See Lucien, *Op. cit.*, 14.

army. Napoleon interrupted him with the words, "I no longer have any army!" Then, changing his tone, he exclaimed, with his old animation: "But I will find the men and the guns. All can be made good. The deputies will second me. You misjudge them. The majority are sound and French."

Then he left Caulaincourt, to place himself in his bath. He had been there only a few minutes when he was informed that Davout had arrived, and issued orders to introduce the marshal. When Davout entered, the Emperor gave him a brief résumé of the campaign. "Nothing is lost," said Davout, "provided Your Majesty promptly takes energetic measures. The most urgent is to prorogue the Chambers, for, with its passionate hostility, the Chamber of Representatives will paralyze all devotion."

As soon as he was dressed, after his bath, the Emperor took a light breakfast, and received Joseph and Lucien who had just come in. The former was as discouraged as the latter was ardent; but they both agreed with Davout as to the hostility of the Chambers.

It was now ten o'clock, and the ministers were assembled. Finally the Emperor appeared. All of the members of the Council were present: the princes, Joseph and Lucien; Maret, the secretary of State; the eight ministers with portfolios, Cambacérès, Caulaincourt, Carnot, Gaudin, Mollien, Davout, Decrès, Fouché; the four ministers of State, members of the Chamber of Representatives, Genoux-Defermon, Regnault, Boulay, Merlin de Douai; and Berlier, secretary of the Council.

Napoleon opened the session by giving a brief review of the military situation. Then he concluded: "Our misfortunes are great. . . . Let France arise, and the enemy will be crushed. . . . To save the country, I need to be clothed with a great power — with a temporary dictatorship. In the public interest, I could seize this power; but it will be more useful and more national to have it given me by the Chambers."

The ministers guarded a sad silence. The Emperor then questioned them one by one. Davout, with an assured voice, favored a dictatorship. "In such moments," he said, "there

CAULAINCOURT, DUC DE VICENCE

should not be two powers. . . . It is necessary to prorogue the Chambers at once."

The advice given by Davout, if followed, would have upset all the schemes of Fouché. With an open and cordial manner, he asked why such a grave measure should be taken when the Chambers would give the Emperor their cordial support.

In the discussion which followed, only Lucien and Decrès supported the demand of Davout for a dictatorship. Even such warm adherents of the Emperor as Maret, Cambacérès, Caulaincourt, and Carnot, for different reasons, argued that it would be better for the Emperor to act with the support of the Chambers.

Regnault, whom the Emperor had regarded as one of his most devoted friends, struck a most discordant note, in stating that the Chambers were decided upon the abdication of the Emperor, and would certainly demand it, unless it were given voluntarily.

Lucien replied, with great vivacity, that if the Chambers would not second the Emperor, he must act alone, and save the nation by declaring himself dictator.

Without positively approving Lucien, and without replying directly to Regnault, the Emperor said: "I do not fear the deputies. Whatever they may do, I shall always be the idol of the people and of the army. If I said a word, they would all be bludgeoned. But, in fearing nothing for myself, I fear everything for France."

Then, recovering, in a moment of hope, all of the assurance of his genius, he set forth clearly the powers of resistance latent in the country. In four days, he would go to Laon and take command of the rallied forces. By the end of the month, he would have an army of 100,000 covering Paris. Before the Russians and Austrians could arrive, the last of July the fortifications of the capital would be completed, with 600 guns in position, and his army would be largely reënforced.

His eloquent words inspired the ministers with new life, and they seemed ready to second all of his plans. Fouché again became disturbed. "That devil of a man!" he said a few

hours later to one of his royalist friends, " he frightened me this morning. I thought that he was going to begin again. Fortunately, one does not recommence! " [2]

While Napoleon was discoursing at the Élysée, the Chamber was acting, and his enemies were already masters of his fate. As soon as the session opened, La Fayette mounted to the tribune. Although he had owed to Napoleon his liberation in 1797 [3] from an Austrian prison, in which he had been confined for five years, he had never forgiven General Bonaparte for having himself proclaimed Consul for Life, and then Emperor. He had lived in retirement during the Empire, but had returned to public life after the Restoration. Elected a deputy in 1815, he refused the peerage offered him by the Emperor, and became the leader of the Opposition in the Chamber.

La Fayette offered a resolution, stating that the independence of the nation was menaced; declaring the Chamber in permanent session, and any attempt to dissolve it an act of high treason; and, finally, inviting the ministers of War (Davout), Foreign Affairs (Caulaincourt), the Interior (Carnot), and the Police (Fouché), to appear before the Assembly. Napoleon was not mistaken when he declared in his last testament that his Second Abdication was due to La Fayette!

The resolution was adopted, practically without debate, and a notice was sent to the " two other branches of the representative authority," that is to say, to the Chamber of Peers and the Emperor. By this parliamentary coup d'état Napoleon was deprived of his constitutional rights to dissolve or to prorogue the Chambers.

As soon as he learned of this resolution, the Emperor saw at once the consequences of the act. " I should have dismissed those people there before my departure," he said. " That is the end. They want to ruin France! "

The impression among the ministers was the same. Even Davout, who had so strongly advocated a dictatorship, was

[2] 2 Fleury, 203.

[3] By a special clause of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

intimidated. If it were necessary to dissolve the Chambers by force, he, as the Minister of War, would be charged with the execution of the act. "The time for action is past," he said. "The resolution of the Representatives is unconstitutional, but it is a *fait consommé*. We cannot trust ourselves, under the present circumstances, to make another 18 Brumaire. As for myself, I should refuse to be the instrument of such an attempt."

After a moment of reflection the Emperor said: "I see that Regnault was not mistaken. I shall abdicate if it be necessary." Then he added, with more vivacity: "However, before deciding on a course, we must see what will come of all this."

A declaration was hastily drawn up, stating that the Emperor had returned to Paris for the purpose of consulting the ministers and the Chambers as to the measures to be taken in the existing crisis. Regnault was instructed to read this to the Chamber, and Carnot, to the Peers. They were subsequently to return and report. This was really only a pretext to gain time for reflection and decision, as Napoleon already knew only too well the spirit of the Assemblies.

The Chamber heard the words of Regnault with a glacial silence. The reception of Carnot by the Peers was equally discouraging. He had hardly finished his discourse, when the message adopted by the Representatives was received. After a brief debate, the Peers passed a resolution in conformity with that of the Chamber, and then adjourned.

By this time the news had spread throughout Paris, and there were popular manifestations against the Chambers and in favor of the Emperor. The terrible bulletin of the battle had already been published in a special edition of the *Moniteur;* but, so far from discouraging the people, it had only exalted their patriotism, and increased their devotion to the Emperor.

After hesitating for several hours, the Emperor finally authorized the ministers to respond to the call of the Chamber, and to them he joined his brother Lucien, as his special commissioner.

Accompanied by Lucien, Napoleon left the palace to promenade under the large trees of the garden. At that time the Élysée gardens were enclosed only by a haw-ditch, and a low wall partly fallen in. A crowd of people had assembled in the Avenue Marigny, crying *Vive l'Empereur!* and *Arms!* As soon as the Emperor appeared, the cries were redoubled. "Well!" said Lucien, "you hear the people? A word from you, and the enemies of the Emperor will have yielded." Napoleon stood still, and saluted with his hand the howling crowd. Then he replied to his brother: "Am I a miserable partisan chief to start a civil war? No! never! At Brumaire, we were able to draw the sword for the good of France. To-day, for the good of France, we must hurl this sword far from us. Try to bring back the Chambers. With them I can do everything. Without them, I could do much for my own interests, but I could not save the country. . . . I will attempt all for France; for myself, I will attempt nothing." [4]

A few minutes later, Napoleon expressed the same sentiments to Benjamin Constant, who had joined him. His eyes fixed upon the crowd, who continued to cheer him, he said: "You see them! It is not they whom I have loaded with honors and gorged with riches. What do they owe me? I found them poor, and I leave them the same. But the instinct of necessity enlightens them; the voice of the nation speaks in them. If I wished it, in an hour the rebellious Chamber would cease to exist. But the life of a man is not worth this price. I am not willing to be the king of the Jacquerie. I did not return from the island of Elba to drench Paris in blood." [5]

It was six o'clock when Lucien, accompanied by the four ministers, entered the Chamber. Upon his request the Assembly went into secret session. Lucien read the message from the Emperor, stating in substance that united action was most necessary, and that he counted upon the patriotism of the

[4] Lucien, *Op. cit.*, 56–57, 59–61.
[5] Constant, 2 *Mém. sur les Cent-Jours*, 133–140.

Chambers to coöperate with him. Lucien supported this appeal in a personal address. Then, Davout, Caulaincourt, and Carnot, in turn, mounted the tribune, and gave some very dubious reports regarding the military and diplomatic outlook.

Jay, one of Fouché's adherents, spoke next, and demanded the abdication of the Emperor, as the only means of saving France from the invaders. Had not the Powers declared that "their coalition was not against the independence of the French nation, but against the sole person of Napoleon"?

In reply, Lucien maintained that the Allies were making war, not upon the Emperor, but upon the nation; and that, in abandoning Napoleon, France would be guilty of inconstancy and feebleness. This brought a scathing reply from La Fayette. He rose, and exclaimed vehemently: "How can any one accuse the nation of being faithless and vacillating with regard to Napoleon? It has followed him to the sands of Egypt and to the deserts of Russia. And it is because it has followed him that it has to regret the blood of three million Frenchmen!"

The eloquence of Lucien had made a favorable impression on the Chamber; but the whole effect of his speech was destroyed by his unfortunate concluding phrase, which evoked the strong reply of La Fayette, and he could find no words to turn the tide again in his favor.

Jay's demand for the Emperor's abdication was supported by several other speakers; but, without taking any vote on the question, the matter was tacitly tabled, and a resolution was adopted to name a committee of five members of each Chamber, to consult with the Council of the Ministers.

At eight-thirty, Lucien and the four ministers went to the Chamber of Peers. After a brief secret session, it was decided to choose five members, to act conjointly with the committee of the Chamber.

Lucien then returned to the Élysée, where the Emperor had dined alone with Hortense. He found Napoleon sad and despondent; overcome with mental and physical fatigue; unde-

cided whether to use his constitutional rights and dissolve the Chambers, or to abdicate.

After reporting on his mission, Lucien said: "In twenty-four hours the authority of the Emperor or that of the Chambers must have ceased. There are no alternatives except dissolution or abdication." This was also the opinion of Caulaincourt and Maret, who were now present; but the two ministers recommended abdication, while Lucien insisted on a resort to force.

This day, so full of events, was not yet ended. At eleven o'clock there was a meeting at the Tuileries, under the presidency of Cambacérès, of all the ministers, the committees of the two Chambers, and the princes Joseph and Lucien. After a long and fruitless discussion, La Fayette broached the question of the abdication. Lucien interrupted him with the words: "If the friends of the Emperor had believed his abdication necessary for the safety of France, they would have been the first to demand it of him." — "Those are the words of a true Frenchman," replied La Fayette. "I adopt this idea. I demand that we all go to the Emperor, and tell him that his abdication has become necessary in the national interests."

Despite the insistence of two or three of those present, Cambacérès refused to put to vote "a motion of this kind." At three o'clock in the morning, they separated, with the general conviction that the day about to dawn would see the downfall of Napoleon.[6]

On the morning of the 22 June, Caulaincourt, Lavalette, Regnault, and Savary were present at the *lever* of the Emperor. They all impressed upon him the necessity of abdicating, and found him resigned to the idea.

At noon, the ministers, with the two princes, were assembled in the salon of the Emperor. Telling Lucien to seat himself at the table, and write, Napoleon dictated to him the act of his Second Abdication. His declaration was addressed, not to the Chambers, but directly to the French people. It was a com-

[6] *Cf.* 10 Thibaudeau, 402–403; and 2 Fleury, 212.

plete and absolute renunciation of every right, of every guarantee, of every safeguard. Surprised to find that he had made no mention of his son, Lucien and Carnot called his attention to this omission. After a moment of hesitation, Napoleon added to the act the words: "I proclaim my son, under the name of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French."

Two copies having been made by Fleury, Napoleon signed the act in duplicate. Carnot was instructed to communicate the paper to the Peers, and Fouché, to the Chamber.

The two Chambers listened in silence to the reading of the Emperor's declaration, and then proceeded to the election of a Provisional Government of five members, three from the Chamber and two from the Peers. Carnot, Fouché, and Grenier were chosen to represent the lower House; Caulaincourt and Quinette, from the Peers.

The night session of the Chamber of Peers was very animated. Joseph, Lucien, Fesch, and the most devoted partisans of the Emperor were present. A motion was offered by Lucien to declare Napoleon the Second Emperor of the French. The motion was supported by Joseph, Maret, Rœderer, Ségur, and many others. It was opposed with equal warmth by the enemies of the Emperor. Finally, after midnight, the question was laid on the table, by a large majority, and the meeting adjourned.

The morning of the 23 June, the five members of the Provisional Government met at the Tuileries, and Fouché was chosen president. At the meeting of the Chamber a determined effort was made to force a declaration in favor of Napoleon the Second. The final result was the adoption of a very equivocal resolution, which, while giving apparent satisfaction to the demands of the Bonapartists, maintained the power in the hands of Fouché.

Napoleon was too clear-sighted to be deceived by this resolution, but it saved his amour-propre, and he expressed himself as satisfied. He was already considering the place of his exile.

His first choice had been England, but he had finally yielded to the prayers of Hortense, Flahaut, and Maret, not to confide in the British good-will, and had decided upon the United States. In the harbor of Rochefort, there were two frigates, ready to sail, and Napoleon asked the Minister of the Marine to place them at his service. Decrès replied that he could do nothing without the authority of the Provisional Government, and Fouché deferred his decision.

Napoleon had expected to remain at the Élysée until his departure for Rochefort. But, if Fouché wished to temporize, in order to learn the views of the Allies, he had no desire to see the Emperor remain in Paris. He feared that some manifestation of the populace, or of the army, might cause Napoleon to change his mind. Therefore, on the 24th, he charged Davout to go and see the Emperor, and persuade him to move to Malmaison. The interview was very cold, and Davout parted from his old chief without a sign of friendship.

That evening, at dinner, Napoleon announced to Hortense his desire to retire to Malmaison, and asked if she would give him hospitality. Malmaison had not been occupied since the death of Joséphine, so Hortense left that same evening, to prepare the château for the reception of the Emperor.

Carnot called the next morning, and found Napoleon occupied in burning papers. He, too, advised the Emperor to find refuge in the United States, rather than in England. At noon, Napoleon departed for Malmaison. There was such a crowd before the main entrance of the Élysée that he was forced to leave by the back gate from the gardens.

Napoleon was accompanied by a few faithful friends, who had volunteered to share his exile: Bertrand, Gourgaud, Montholon, Las Cases. At Malmaison, the service of honor and of surety was furnished by 300 grenadiers and chasseurs of the Old Guard, from the dépôt at Rueil, and by a small detachment of dragoons of the Guard.

On Monday, there were numerous visitors at the château: the princes Joseph, Lucien, and Jérôme; the generals Caffarelli, La Bédoyère, and many others; the former ministers Lavalette,

Maret, and Savary. All of these devoted adherents of the Emperor begged permission to follow him in his exile.

Napoleon also received his banker, Jacques Laffitte, with whom he had a long conversation. It was during this interview that he pronounced the historic words: "It is not against me, particularly, that the Powers make war: it is against the Revolution. In me they have never seen anything except the representative, the man of the Revolution."

Pursuant to orders from Fouché, General Beker appeared at Malmaison the same evening, ostensibly to protect the Emperor, but really to see that he did not escape. At their first interview, however, Beker was completely won over; and he assured the Emperor that he would leave at once if his mission were objectionable. "Reassure yourself," said Napoleon, "I am very glad to have you with me."

Malmaison had not been changed since Napoleon had resided there during the Consulate: the familiar scenes recalled many sad souvenirs of Joséphine, and of those earlier days of happiness and of glory. During a walk in the park with Hortense he paused before a bed of roses, in full bloom, and said: "Poor Joséphine! I cannot accustom myself to live here without her. I seem always to see her issuing from an allée and plucking one of these flowers which she loved so much. She was indeed the most graceful woman that I have ever known!" [7]

After his arrival at Malmaison, Napoleon, three times in as many days, renewed his demand to be allowed to go to Rochefort, and embark for America. Finally, Fouché sent the permit from the Provisional Government, placing the two frigates at the disposal of the Emperor, but providing that the vessels should not sail until safe-conducts had been received from the English Government. Fouché had already written Wellington to demand these papers, which he knew would be refused; and the only object of his letter was apparently to notify the English of Napoleon's plans, so that they could intercept him.

[7] 3 Hortense, 27.

The Emperor was determined not to leave for Rochefort until orders were issued for the frigates to sail immediately upon his arrival. On the morning of the 28 June, he made another effort to secure the orders, by sending his aide de camp Flahaut to Paris.

Believing that this last move would be successful, Napoleon made some financial arrangements preparatory to leaving. He ordered his notary to sell some securities, valued at 180,000 francs, to furnish funds for his voyage. He had already deposited about three millions in gold with Laffitte, and he now gave Peyrusse orders to transport secretly, that same night, three millions in gold from the cellars of the Tuileries to the Laffitte Bank.[8]

During his final day at Malmaison, Napoleon had a crowd of visitors. His mother, and his uncle, Fesch, came from Paris; also his brothers, Joseph, Lucien, and Jérôme. Three of his former inamoratas did not forget him, and he had calls from the Comtesse Walewska, Madame Duchâtel, and Madame Pellapra.[9] There also came to bid him adieu, Maret, Savary, Lavalette, Lallemand, La Bédoyère, Méneval, Talma, and Corvisart; as well as, the Duchesse de Vicence, the Comtesse Caffarelli, and the Comtesse Regnault.

Late in the afternoon, Flahaut returned from Paris, to report that his mission had been unsuccessful. Finally, at nine o'clock in the evening, Fouché wrote Decrès, to order the two frigates placed unconditionally at the orders of the Emperor. This word was brought to Malmaison at daybreak the next

[8] Of the sum last mentioned, nearly two millions had been brought back from Elba. The fact that the Emperor had on deposit with Laffitte a total sum of six millions is shown by his testament at Saint Helena. He also had due him, on his Civil List, from 20 March to 22 June, a further sum of six millions; but, of course, this was never paid to him.

[9] Madame Pellapra, whose name has not appeared before in these pages, was the wife of the receiver-general of the Calvados. She was the mother, by Napoleon, of a daughter, Émilie, who married a son of Thérésia de Fontenoy, by her third husband, Prince de Chimay. (See article, " Une fille de Napoléon," in *Revue des Deux Mondes,* 15 mars 1921.)

morning, and Napoleon announced his intention of leaving during the course of the day.

After breakfast, while he was in conference with Joseph, Flahaut, Maret, and Lavalette, news was brought him of the arrival before Paris, in advance of the English, of the Prussian army. After marking the positions on the map, Napoleon raised his head, and his eyes shone. "I can still stop the Prussians, and give the Government time to negotiate," he declared. "Afterwards I will depart for the United States." He mounted the private stairway from the library to his apartment, and quickly returned, dressed in his usual uniform. Sending for Beker, he announced his project. The general rushed to Paris, to lay the matter before the Provisional Government. It is easy to imagine the consternation of Fouché, on learning of this plan. He refused consent, and the other members of the commission weakly acquiesced.

Napoleon awaited in his cabinet the return of Beker, and heard his report in silence. At the end, he simply asked if Beker had reported his exact words, and his oath to lay down the command as soon as he had defeated the Prussians. "Yes, Sire," replied Beker. — "Very well! Then it only remains for me to leave. Give the orders. When they are executed, come and let me know."

It was an illusion of Fouché and his colleagues that they held Napoleon in their power. At Malmaison, he was a prisoner, but a prisoner of his own free will. At any moment he could have mounted his horse, and placed himself at the head of his army. But he no longer had the desire: he was overcome with lassitude.

The Emperor ascended again to his rooms,[10] changed his uniform for a brown suit, and put on a round hat. Then he entered the bedroom where Joséphine had died, and remained there for several minutes, behind closed doors. Descending to his cabinet, he bade adieu to Joseph and Hortense. The prin-

[10] The suite occupied by Napoleon during his last stay at Malmaison was in the south wing, above his library. His bedroom is to-day the salon of the curator of the museum.

cess forced him to accept a diamond necklace, worth 200,000 francs, which she had sewed in the lining of a belt. Then he received the officers of his little bodyguard, all of whom were in tears.

The Imperial carriages were drawn up in line in the court of honor, before the main entrance. At the same time, a yellow calèche, without armorial bearings, attached to four post-horses, was stationed at the small park-gate, on the transverse road to Saint-Cloud. This was the carriage destined for the Emperor.

At five o'clock, General Beker announced that all was ready. Napoleon embraced Hortense once more, threw a last glance around his cabinet, and followed the general. Walking through the park, he reached the gate where the calèche was waiting. Entering the vehicle, he took the seat of honor, with Bertrand at his left, Savary and Beker opposite to them. Travelling at full speed, they soon reached the main route from Paris to Rochefort, which they followed as far as Rambouillet, where a stop was made for the night. Buried in thought, the Emperor did not utter a word during the trip, and his companions respected his silence.

An early start was made the following morning, the 30 June. Tours was reached a little before midnight, but no stop was made until they arrived at Poitiers. Here a halt of two hours was decided upon, as the heat was stifling. Napoleon took advantage of this opportunity to send a courier ahead to the maritime prefect of Rochefort, in order that the frigates might be ready to sail on his arrival. Niort was reached about ten o'clock in the evening, and the Emperor decided to sleep at the inn, *la Boule d'Or*.

Late the following afternoon, Napoleon received a reply to his message. The prefect wrote that the port of Rochefort was closely blockaded by an English squadron, and there was little prospect of escaping. Napoleon was much disconcerted at hearing this news.

At Niort, the Emperor was rejoined by Joseph, Gourgaud, and Lallemand. The prince had left Paris on the 29 June for

Bordeaux, where he had arranged to embark for America. At Limoges, he had left the direct route, in order to say a last farewell to his brother at Rochefort. With great generosity, Joseph offered to place at Napoleon's disposal his own vessel, upon which he sailed later, and made the voyage safely to New York. But the Emperor refused, mainly because he was determined to make a dignified exit from the scene.

The following morning, the 3 July, Napoleon proceeded to Rochefort, where he vainly awaited an opportunity to set sail. The winds continued contrary, and the British did not relax the blockade.

From the first, Napoleon had been obsessed with the idea of demanding hospitality of England: he found in this design "*de la grandeur.*" He talked of it constantly at Malmaison, and it was in vain that Hortense, as well as all his other friends, tried to make him realize the danger of this course. Napoleon himself was the least vindictive of men, and he could not appreciate to what a degree he was hated and dreaded by the British.

Several days passed without any change in the situation. The authorities at Paris were pressing Beker to hasten the Emperor's departure, and the general represented to Napoleon that it was dangerous for him to remain longer at Rochefort. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 8 July, the Emperor went aboard the *Saale,* which was anchored between the mouth of the river and the Île d'Aix.

On the 10 July the Emperor sent Savary and Las Cases as envoys to open negotiations with Captain Maitland, the commander of the English vessel, the *Bellerophon.* The French commissioners were politely received by Maitland, who, during the negotiations which followed, constantly and intentionally deceived both the Emperor and his representatives regarding the attitude of the English Government toward Napoleon, and the treatment which he could expect if he threw himself upon their hospitality. It may not be fair to blame Maitland personally, as he was acting under orders "*to employ all means to inter-*

cept the fugitive, upon whose captivity seems to depend the repose of Europe." [11]

Napoleon finally decided that it was hopeless to remain longer on the *Saale,* so he moved with his entire party to the Île d'Aix (12 July). He was now, more than ever, determined to accept the hospitality of England. "Since Malmaison," writes Monsieur Houssaye, "he did not see, he had never seen, but three courses worthy of his career: (1) to reassume the command of the army, but by virtue of regular orders, not as a factionary; (2) to embark upon the frigates in Imperial pomp; or (3) to surrender to the English honor."

The latter course was the only one which still remained open to him, and Napoleon dictated to Gourgaud his famous letter to the Prince Regent:

"Your Royal Highness: Attacked by the factions which distract my country and by the enmity of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself upon the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from Your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

On the 15 July, at sunrise, Napoleon embarked on the *Épervier.* He wore his sword, his usual hat, and the green uniform of colonel of the chasseurs of his Guard — the costume so well known on all of the battle-fields of Europe. It was the first time that he had assumed it since leaving Malmaison. As the brig was about to raise anchor, Beker asked if he should accompany the Emperor as far as the British cruiser, as ordered by the Government. Napoleon replied: "No, General Beker, return to the Île d'Aix. It must not be possible for any one to say that France delivered me to the English! "

[11] Letter of 7 July 1815 from Admiral Hotham to Captain Maitland.

CHAPTER SIXTY-FIVE

JUNE 1815 — JULY 1844

JOSEPH AND JULIE

Joseph during the Hundred Days — He Leaves Paris — Sails from Bordeaux — Arrives in New York — Purchases an Estate at Bordentown — Recovers His Jewels — His Court — The Champ d'Asile — The Crown of Mexico — Julie Alone Free from Persecution — Her Life with Her Sister — She Is Exiled from France — Her Sojourns at Frankfort and at Brussels — Marriage of Her Daughter — Joseph Returns to Europe — His Counsel to Louis-Napoleon — His Death at Florence

WITH the departure of the Emperor, the members of his family disappear from the stage, and reënter the side-scenes. Except from their connection with him, they have no importance, and arouse little curiosity. But, before taking up the history of the final tragedy of Saint Helena, it may be of interest to relate briefly the story of the last days of those individuals who played rôles, no matter how subordinate, beside the greatest character known to History. We shall find them very widely dispersed: Joseph, in America; Madame, Fesch, Lucien, Louis, and Pauline at Rome; Jérôme, Élisa, and Caroline in Austria; Hortense in Switzerland, and Eugène in Bavaria.

During the Hundred Days, Joseph gave many proofs of his devotion, and entirely regained the confidence of the Emperor. One of the first acts of Napoleon, after his return from Waterloo, was to reimburse his brother for the diamonds, which Joseph had loaned him prior to his departure from Paris, and which were seized by the Prussians subsequent to the battle. He ordered Peyrusse, the treasurer of the Crown, to give Joseph drafts upon the forests of the Domain to the value of 711,000 francs. These certificates were easily negotiable, and Joseph immediately turned them into cash.

At the same time, the Emperor gave further evidence of his regard for Joseph by placing in the hands of his brother several boxes containing copies of the personal letters written him during his reign by the different sovereigns of Europe.[1]

Thanks to the efficient management of his brother-in-law, Nicolas Clary, and to the constant economy of his wife, the private affairs of Joseph were in excellent condition, and it was possible for him to make within a few days the arrangements for his departure. Having confided his private papers, and those of the Emperor, to his secretary, M. Presle, and secured both French and American passports, Joseph left Paris on the 29 June. He was accompanied by only three persons: his valet, Mailliard; his physician, Dr. Unzaga; and an American interpreter, James Caret.

On the 12 July, he took a final leave of Napoleon in the Île d'Aix, and continued his journey to Bordeaux, where he embarked on the 25th upon an American brig, the *Commerce,* which he had chartered for 18,000 francs. The captain, Misservey, a native of Guernsey, but a naturalized American, was ignorant of the real names of his passengers. Joseph was concealed under the sobriquet of Bouchard, the name of his man of affairs at Survilliers; and his companions, although little known, had also borrowed other names. The brig was boarded from British vessels twice during the voyage, but the passports were found in order, and no trouble was experienced. On the 28 August, *Monsieur Bouchard* landed safely in New York.

On his arrival, Joseph went to a small hotel, kept by a Mrs. Powell, in Park Place. Soon after he reached New York, he was recognized in the street by several Frenchmen, and he abandoned the democratic name of Bouchard for the more patrician appellation of Comte de Survilliers, which he had employed occasionally as an incognito when in Europe.

[1] Monsieur Masson states that all of this correspondence subsequently came into the hands of the Emperor Napoleon the Third, with the exception of the letters of the Czar, which were redeemed by him. (See 12 Masson, 33, note; also 2 *Autour de Sainte-Hélène,* 177–214.)

The mayor of the city called to pay his respects, and Joseph received visits from several other persons of note — including Commodore Lewis. The commodore, who seems to have known Joseph in Europe, invited him to be his guest at Amboy, and accompanied him when he went to Washington to be presented to the President. But Mr. Madison declined to receive the ex-King, and Joseph returned to Philadelphia. Here, at the beginning of 1816, he leased a city house, and also a "regal" country mansion, Lansdowne House, belonging to Mr. Bingham, whose daughter married Alexander Baring, the first Baron Ashburton, of the present line.

On the 2 July following, Joseph purchased for $17,000 a farm of 211 acres, called Point Breeze, situated on the Delaware River near Bordentown, New Jersey. This property was augmented by successive purchases until it became a fine estate of some 2000 acres. The land was held at first in the name of James Caret; but early in 1817, by a special act of the New Jersey legislature, Joseph was authorized to have it transferred to his own name.

While he was having constructed a new residence on his Bordentown estate, Joseph travelled extensively in New England and in New York. In Jefferson County, New York, he purchased, at a total cost of $160,000, another princely estate of many thousand acres, upon which he laid out roads, erected houses, built hunting-lodges, and so forth. As in New Jersey, he was authorized by a special act of the State legislature to hold this property in his own name.

It has been stated that Joseph financed these purchases with the proceeds of the diamonds which he had concealed at Prangins in 1815; but he must have had other resources. It was not until the middle of 1818 that his valet, Mailliard, returned from Europe with these gems, which were valued at a million dollars; and he subsequently displayed the jewels, in their royal settings, to one of his callers, a Mrs. Berkeley.

Besides building at Point Breeze "the finest private residence in the United States," Joseph leased at Philadelphia, for a winter home, the house of the banker Girard. During the

summer season, he went to Saratoga to take the waters, and made a pilgrimage to Mount Vernon, always accompanied by a large suite.

In the winter of 1820, the house at Point Breeze was entirely destroyed by fire. With great difficulty there was saved a part of the paintings and furniture, some of the objets d'art, the silver, and the jewels. Upon the walls, which remained intact, Joseph had built a belvédère, while on another site he ordered constructed a much larger and finer mansion, which was royally furnished and decorated.

The little Court which surrounded the Comte de Survilliers, at first largely French, soon became almost entirely American. All of the French who were able to get away returned to Europe, to take up their residences either in Belgium or in Switzerland, near the French frontier, where French was spoken, and they could receive early news from home. Soon there remained only the military proscripts, who did not venture to return: Lefebvre-Desnoëttes, Rigau, and the two brothers Lallemand, Frédéric and Henri. These four general officers seem to have been interested in the mysterious Champ d'Asile, and the plot to rescue the Emperor from Saint Helena.[2] How far Joseph was personally involved in this matter, and to what extent it was financed by him, is unknown to this day.

It appears to be certain, however, that Joseph about this time was offered by the Spanish insurgents the crown of Mexico. He replied: "I have worn two crowns, and I would not take the least step to gain a third. . . . Every day that I pass in this hospitable country proves to me the more clearly the excellence of the republican form for America. Conserve it as a precious gift of Heaven; put an end to your internal troubles and follow the example of the United States. Search among your fellow-citizens for a man, more capable than I myself could be, to play the grand rôle of Washington."

This report even reached Napoleon at Saint Helena, and he said, by way of comment: "This news does not give me

[2] For the details of this affair, so far as known, see Appendix P.

pleasure. Joseph has intelligence, but he does not like work; he knows nothing of military affairs, but thinks that he does. . . . He loves to play. He has certainly a large fortune — perhaps twenty millions. He is wrong to mix up with a revolution. . . . His character is too kind; but, on the other hand, he has much ambition, much confidence in his intelligence, his abilities. A crown is a great allurement. . . ."

If Joseph had wished to aid the Emperor he could have done so at any time without drawing on his own large personal resources. In a letter to Jacques Laffitte, under date of 30 November 1834, he acknowledged that the Emperor had deposited with him in June 1815 the sum of 220,000 francs, and in addition, he stated, " I was, and I am still, his faithful custodian for other values of the same nature, of which the destination to me is sacred."

But Napoleon asked no money from Joseph: the only thing that he insistently demanded was that his brother should have O'Meara publish the letters from the sovereigns. Joseph claimed, and correctly, that Napoleon had not given him the originals at Rochefort. As for the copies, they had mysteriously disappeared from the cases when Presle, under orders from Joseph, came to search for them. Thus vanished Napoleon's hope to take this vengeance on his jailers.

The only member of the Family to escape the persecution of the allied Powers was Julie, the wife of Joseph. This was due partly to her obscure rôle during the Empire, and partly to her relationship to the Crown Princess of Sweden, whose husband had contributed materially to the overthrow of the Emperor. While the other Bonapartes were everywhere proscribed, she was permitted, for a time, to remain with her daughters in Paris, in that magnificent hôtel of the Rue d'Anjou-Saint-Honoré which Napoleon had purchased of Moreau, to present to Bernadotte. Here she led the same retired life as under the Empire. The only difference was that she could not visit Mortefontaine, which had been saved from confiscation by a fictitious sale to her brother, Nicolas Clary. Therefore,

in the autumn of 1815, she went to Auteuil, where her sister Désirée had a house.

The two sisters remained in the country until the month of December; but, in spite of their retired life, they did not entirely escape the surveillance of the Royal police.

On her return to Paris, the last of December, Julie made some preparations to rejoin her husband in America; but it was a long voyage, and she had a horror of travelling. She continued to postpone her departure, as she had done in previous years when ordered by the Emperor to join her husband at Naples or at Madrid.

In May 1816, she was finally notified by Pozzo di Borgo that she must leave France within a few days; "the King," he said, "had granted her a respite in consideration of her bad health, and the difficulty of the journey in midwinter." In case she did not wish to cross the Ocean, she must reside in Russia, and be interned at Kief. But, through the influence of her sister, she obtained permission to retire to Germany, and reside temporarily in the vicinity of Frankfort. Her sister was allowed to join her, and left Paris the middle of August 1816.

Then Bernadotte intervened, and personally begged the Prince Regent to grant Julie permission to reside permanently near Frankfort, or in Switzerland. On the 5 December the Prince replied that he was glad "to make any arrangement for the residence of Madame Joseph Bonaparte which would be agreeable to the Prince of Sweden." The question was therefore decided in favor of Julie.

On her arrival in Germany, Julie took up her residence in a country mansion in the environs of Frankfort. She led a very retired life, occupied with the education of her daughters. Notwithstanding his large fortune, Joseph allowed his wife only 60,000 francs a year, and Julie was forced to employ the strictest economy. She tried in vain to find a purchaser for Prangins, which, badly administered by the Swiss banker Veret, was a considerable charge.

In July 1817, she seemed to have abandoned any thought of going to America. In fact, on the 4 August she left for Ems,

to take the baths, for a rheumatic pain which was troubling her. On her return to Frankfort she resumed her quiet life, and practiced an economy which troubled even Madame Mère.

At the beginning of 1818, Julie once more talked seriously of rejoining her husband. On the 22 January, she wrote Désirée, who was back again in Paris, that she had received permission, if she embarked in the spring, to sail from a French port, and to pass a month or two in Paris en route, in the strictest incognito. This visit to Paris was a great temptation to her.

However, she did not leave, and put off her journey for a round year. On the 21 August she wrote her brother: "Our departure for America is irrevocably fixed for the month of April next, and if, in the end, I am too ill to embark, I cannot avoid sending my husband my two children, or at least Zénaïde." It was at this time that Joseph sent to Europe his valet, Mailliard, to give his commands to his wife, and to recover the jewels buried at Prangins in March 1815. The valet carried out the second part of his commission, but he signally failed in the first part.

Instead of leaving for New York, Julie's next plan was to go to Prangins, where Désirée promised to join her; but the French minister would not issue a passport. So her sister came to Frankfort, and they went to some baths near Hanau.

For the moment, there was no longer question of a voyage to America, which was impossible in the state of Julie's health. As the climate of Frankfort did not agree with her, steps had already been taken to secure the consent of the King of the Netherlands for her residence at Brussels. William the First, who had shown great liberality toward the French exiles, raised no objections, but it was necessary to obtain the approval of the French Government. In reply to the request of her sister Désirée, Decazes wrote on the 11 January 1820 that the King would place no obstacles in the way of Julie's establishing herself in Belgium. But Julie could not avail herself at once of this permission. A season at the waters of Ems, and a grave illness of her daughter Zénaïde caused her to postpone her departure until the month of August.

At Brussels, Julie leased for 500 francs a month a furnished apartment overlooking the Park. Joseph continued to impress upon her the necessity for economy, as "his actual income was insufficient." He was still trying to sell Prangins, for which he asked 425,000 francs; also Mortefontaine, for which the best offer was three millions, although it had cost him twice that sum.[3]

Julie redoubled her economies, and even sold her pearls. Following the instructions of Joseph, she had arranged a marriage between Zénaïde and her cousin Charles, the eldest son of Lucien.[4] The dot was fixed at 730,000 francs, and to obtain this large sum it would be necessary to sell some of their estates.

At the time of the Revolution of 1830, Joseph made another effort to have recognized the rights of his nephew, Napoleon the Second, but met with no success. In 1832, he returned to Europe, and took up his residence in England. In London, he found his nephew, Louis-Napoleon, who was now the heir to the Imperial throne. He advised Louis to be patient, and wait until times were more favorable before pressing his claims. Louis-Napoleon would have avoided many years of exile and of imprisonment if he had listened to his old uncle.

In the autumn of 1838, Joseph made a final visit to the United States. Under date of the 29 September, Philip Hone records in his *Diary:* "The ex-King Joseph Bonaparte arrived here with a numerous suite in the packet ship *Philadelphia* from London." [5]

Later, Joseph made his home in Italy, where he died at Florence on the 28 July 1844, at the age of seventy-six. Julie died the following year.

[3] In July 1827, this estate was finally sold to the Prince de Condé, who left it at his death (1830) to his English mistress, known as the Baronne de Feuchères.

[4] The marriage was celebrated at Brussels, 29 June 1822. Although they had eight children, the branch is now extinct. The younger daughter, Charlotte, also married a first cousin, Napoleon-Louis, the elder of the two surviving sons of Louis and Hortense. He died at Forli, Italy, in March 1831, leaving no children. (See Biographical Notes.)

[5] Philip Hone, *Diary*, 344.

CHAPTER SIXTY-SIX

1815 — 1846

THE ETERNAL CITY

Madame Bids Adieu to Napoleon — She Departs with Cardinal Fesch for Rome — Her Residence in the Eternal City — Her Sad Closing Years — Her Tomb at Ajaccio — Lucien Leaves for Italy — He Is Interned at Turin — He Reaches Rome after the Birth of His Son — He Occupies Himself with the Marriages of His Children — Three More Births in His Family — His Literary Works — His Death — Louis at Rome during the Hundred Days — He Secures Possession of Napoleon-Louis — His Education of the Prince — Sale of His French Property — His Work on Holland — His Closing Years and Death — Pauline at the Baths of Lucca — She Goes to Rome — Her Devotion to the Emperor — Her Early Death — Her Character

ON THE 29 June, Madame went to Malmaison to bid farewell to Napoleon before his departure. She maintained an unnatural calm, and betrayed her feelings only by two large tears which ran down her cheeks. In leaving, she extended her hand, and said simply, "Adieu, mon fils." Napoleon replied, "Adieu, ma mère," and they embraced.

Returning to her hôtel in the Rue Saint-Dominique, Madame awaited events. Fesch, who came to dine with her every evening, endeavored to give her the hope that they would both be allowed to live in France. Julie and Hortense, who called frequently, were under the same illusion. They little realized how much they were all detested by the Bourbons!

On the 10 July, Fesch wrote the King to demand permission to remain in his diocese. Louis replied, through Fouché, that he had authorized his minister of the Police to deliver to His Eminence passports to Rome. The cardinal was not willing to accept this as the last word, and asked at least to have the sequestration removed on his property; also, to be allowed an opportunity to settle his affairs. At the same time, he put in

a claim for 90,000 francs, due him as senator, grand almoner, and grand officer of the Légion d'honneur.[1]

It was necessary, therefore, to set out; and on the 20 July Fesch took the route of the Bourgogne, accompanied by his sister, "Madame Lætitia Fesch, veuve Buonaparte."[2] On the 25th, they were at Geneva, where they went to dine with Hortense at Sécheron, and passed a day at Prangins, in the vacant château of Joseph. Then they proceeded to Bologna, where they arrived on the last day of July.

Fesch immediately wrote the minister of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to ask permission to reside in his States. Ferdinand, as the Grand Duke of Würzburg, had been a frequent guest at the Tuileries during the Empire, and on cordial terms with the cardinal and his sister; but he was unwilling to allow these "two individuals" to prolong their sojourn in Tuscany.

Fortunately, the Pope showed a different spirit. Although he was opposed by the majority of his cardinals, he gave orders to issue passports to Fesch and his sister. On Sunday, the 13 August, after Mass, the two travellers took the route for Rome, where they arrived on the second day following. Madame went to the residence of her brother, the Palazzo Falconieri, Via Giulia, very near the river. Here she lived with him until 1818.

At Rome, the Bonapartes had more liberty than anywhere else. They were welcomed by the Pope, who was their guarantor before the Powers. They showed their appreciation of the generous asylum offered them by leading quiet, retired lives, and causing no embarrassment to the Papal Government. Madame, in particular, conformed strictly to the rules laid down by the Allies and by France. Through her agent, Rossi, she con-

[1] This curious document was published for the first time, in full, 12 Masson, 61–63. The original bears an endorsement, in the hand of Blacas, or of Vitrolles, that it was not "the intention of His Majesty that the members of the family of *M. Buonaparte* should get away with the products of their crimes."

[2] Report in the *Journal de Paris,* le 22 juillet 1815.

cluded the arrangements for the sale of her Paris residence, the Hôtel Brienne. It was purchased, for over 800,000 francs, by the Government, and was assigned to the Minister of War.

At the same time, Fesch put his affairs in order, and took measures to conserve his property. He placed under borrowed names all of his estates in Corsica, as well as those of Joseph. His Paris hôtel was already in the name of the librarian, Rusand. A similar course was followed to protect the cases at Marseille which contained his furniture and objets d'art.

Fesch continued to consider himself the Archbishop of Lyon, Primate of the Gauls, and refused to give his resignation or accept a dismissal. In this stand he was supported firmly by the Pope; and it was not until after the death of Pius the Seventh, and the election of his successor, in 1823, that the French Government succeeded in carrying its point.

The cardinal led a very quiet life at Rome, and showed the greatest devotion to his religious duties. He had always been very closely united to his sister, and they were drawn even more together after their arrival in the Eternal City. For three years they resided together in the Palazzo Falconieri, which, in spite of its enormous dimensions, was too small to contain the thirty thousand pictures of His Eminence. Then, in March 1818, Madame left him, to make her home in the Palazzo Rinuccini, which she had bought at the end of 1817, for 27,000 piastres. Here she lived until 1824, when she acquired, at the corner of the Corso and the Piazza di Venezia, a palace which was henceforth to be known as the Palazzo Bonaparte.

When the surgeon O'Meara returned from Saint Helena, in the summer of 1818, Madame was much distressed over his reports of Napoleon's health, and addressed a pathetic letter to the Allied Sovereigns, who were attending the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. She begged them to release the Emperor; but her letter remained unanswered. On several occasions she petitioned to be allowed to share Napoleon's exile, but her requests were refused.

Every one in Rome, from the Pope downwards, regarded Madame Mère with the most profound sympathy and respect. Her salon was always open to her family, and the few friends whom she received, but she never went into society.

Her sons and daughters, who had never learned economy, and who thought that her fortune was inexhaustible, pestered her with demands for money, Louis and Jérôme being the worst offenders.

On the 22 July 1821, came the news of the death of Napoleon, which had occurred on the 5 May. She addressed a letter to the British Government asking permission to have the body of the Emperor removed to Europe; but it was not until 1840 that Napoleon's wish, as expressed in his testament, was fulfilled. In the autumn, she received Antommarchi, who had come to Rome to furnish the family, as desired by the Emperor, with the particulars of his last illness.

Madame survived her great son by nearly fifteen years, but the end of her life was very sad: she was crippled from a fall in 1830, and she became totally blind. Her closing years were also darkened by the many deaths in her family. She finally passed away on the 2 February 1836, at the age of eighty-five. Her body now reposes at Ajaccio, by the side of the remains of her brother, in a church erected by the Emperor Napoleon the Third. A marble slab, over the entrance to the vault, bears the following inscription in gold lettering:

MARIA LETIZIA RAMOLINO BONAPARTE
MATER REGUM

As soon as the Emperor left the Élysée, on the 25 June, Lucien sent Chatillon to Fouché, to demand the passports, which were already made out: two for Lucien, in his own name and in that of André Boyer; and two for Chatillon, in his own name and in that of the Marquis de Rocca-Priora, an Italian seigneur returning to his estates.

The following morning, Lucien set out, leaving his second daughter in Paris with her uncle, André Boyer. That day he

went only as far as the mansion of his sister Pauline, at Neuilly. From there he sent a messenger to the Emperor at Malmaison, to obtain an order for 250,000 francs, which he claimed that he had spent during the month that he occupied the Palais-Royal. Chatillon obtained the order, which was duly paid at the Treasury; and he also brought back two millions in forest certificates, which the Emperor had given him in addition.

On the morning of the 27 June, at four o'clock, Lucien left for Boulogne, where he arrived on the 28th. There he suddenly changed his mind, fearing that the English might intern him, and decided to go to Rome. After meeting with some misadventures en route, he arrived at Turin on the 12 July. From his inn, he wrote the King of Sardinia to demand a safe-conduct as far as Milan. In response to his appeal, the King sent several officers to conduct him to the citadel, where he was confined for over eight weeks, pending the decision of the Powers regarding his case.

During the period of his detention at Turin, Lucien wrote Metternich, and also the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, to claim their assistance in securing his liberty. In these letters, Lucien stated, and reiterated, that he had never been called to the Imperial dynasty; that he was, and remained, only a Roman prince; and that, both for himself and for his family, he had no other pretensions.[3]

These appeals were not without result; and on the 5 August the Pope notified Metternich that he saw no objections to the return of Lucien to Rome. It was necessary, however, to submit the matter to the Powers, and this took several weeks. Finally, on the 27 August, Metternich sent the King of Sardinia permission to release his prisoner. But there was still more red tape to be cut, and Lucien did not secure his liberty until the 20 September. Then he rushed to Rome, where the Princess of Canino had been unable to await his return for her accouchement.

[3] These formal statements effectively negative the claims of Lucien's descendants that he was placed in the line of succession to the Imperial throne.

"Cardinal Fesch," wrote the French ambassador, under date of the 25 September, "was *en grand appareil* for the baptism of this child, which was celebrated as if for a prince in the paternal mansion. It is said that the cardinal, against the advice of the mother, wished to give it the name of Napoleon." Whereupon Monsieur Masson comments: "How could they have baptized on the 25 September this infant who was not born until the 11 October, and who was named Pierre?" [4]

For several years after his return to Rome, Lucien was closely watched by the agents of the Sainte-Alliance — first by Cortois de Pressigny, and later by that miserable scoundrel, Blacas, who showed the most implacable animosity toward the whole Bonaparte family. When the Allies had reëstablished His Very Christian Majesty upon his throne they demanded that Blacas should disappear from the Government. He therefore accepted the embassy to Rome, where he displayed his dishonorable hatred of the Bonapartes, and resorted to the most contemptible chicanery, on every occasion.

At this time, Lucien was not involved in any political intrigues, but was principally occupied with the marriages of his two daughters by Catherine Boyer. On the 27 December 1815, Charlotte [5] was married to the Prince Gabrielli.

The second daughter, Christine-Égypta, was not present at her sister's wedding. Her stepmother, with whom she was not a favorite, had left her in London, and she did not come to Paris until the last of June 1815. Here she remained until December, when her uncle, André Boyer, was sent from Marseille to get her, and escort her to Rome, where she arrived at the end of January 1816.

[4] Monsieur Masson was in error regarding the date of the birth of Pierre-Napoleon. In one place he gives the date of the 14 October, in another, that of the 11th; and he states, twice, that Lucien was present at the time. (See 12 Masson, 110, 316, and 57.) In fact, Pierre was born on the 12 September, ten days before the return of his father. (See *Grande Encyclopédie,* VII, 253, and *Encyclopedia Britannica,* IV, 196.)

[5] She was born at Saint-Maximin, France, 22 February 1795, and died at Rome 6 May 1865. Her three daughters made excellent marriages, and by them the Bonaparte blood is spread through a dozen or more of the most prominent Italian families.

For her, Lucien found a husband who was not satisfactory to his mother, or any member of his family. This was a Swede, Count Arved Posse, member of a rich and distinguished family, but objectionable to the Bonapartes on account of his connection with Bernadotte. This marriage was celebrated in the winter of 1818, and Christine went with her husband to Stockholm, where she was very prominent in society. Later, her husband showed signs of lunacy, and she divorced him. In 1824, she married a young Englishman, named Dudley Coutts, the twelfth son of John Stuart, Marquis of Ponte, a descendant of Robert the Second, King of Scotland.[6]

In the meantime, Lucien appeared very seldom in society, and spent most of his time at his Tusculum estate. His wife, who had already had seven children, presented him with three more: Antoine,[7] Marie,[8] and Constance.[9]

In 1820, Lucien arranged a marriage for Letitia, his eldest daughter by his second wife, who was hardly sixteen years of age, with an Irishman, a Catholic, of ancient family, named Thomas Wyse.[10]

Lucien also negotiated with Joseph a marriage between his eldest son, Charles, and the elder of the two daughters of his brother. The establishment of his children seems to have been his main preoccupation, and took up most of his time. But these unions had been a heavy drain on his resources, and he was forced to sell the finest of his remaining paintings: the *Madone aux Candélabres* of Raphael, the *Christ* of Michelangelo, and the *Sainte-Cécile* of Guido Reni. For these justly

[6] They had only one child, Paul, who was an imbecile. About 1838, Christine separated from her husband, and took up her residence in Rome, where she died in 1847.

[7] Antoine, born at Frascati, 31 October 1816; died at Florence, 28 March 1877; married, but left no posterity.

[8] Marie, born at Perugia, 10 October 1818; died at Florence, 20 August 1874; married Count Valentini. She had three children: two sons, and a daughter, who have left numerous descendants.

[9] Constance, born at Bologna, 30 January 1823; died at Rome, 4 September 1876; abbess of the convent of Sacré-Cœur, at Rome.

[10] They had five children, of whom the best known was the youngest son, Louis-Lucien-Napoleon, explorer of the Isthmus of Panama, and promoter of the international canal.

celebrated pictures, from the Borghese collection, he vainly demanded 13,000 Roman crowns.[11]

Lucien's political ambitions, however, were far from dead, and he dreamed at times of joining Joseph in America, to deliver Napoleon, and to throw himself into Mexico with his two eldest sons. But, after the death of the Emperor in 1821, he became discouraged, and gave much of his time to the study of astronomy.

The Revolution of July (1830) once more revived his ambition. After the death of the Duc de Reichstadt, in July 1832, he went to rejoin Joseph in England, where he devoted all of his energies to the propagation of Napoleonic ideas in Europe, and particularly in France. In 1834, he protested vainly against the law exiling the Bonaparte family from France. In the two following years, he published two works which excited considerable attention: *La Vérité sur les Cent-Jours* (1835), and the *Mémoires de Lucien Bonaparte, prince de Canino, écrits par lui-même* (1836).[12]

After this, Lucien definitely retired from active politics, disgusted by the attempts of his nephew Louis-Napoleon, which had demonstrated that he himself could no longer claim to represent the Imperial tradition. He returned to Italy, where he died at Viterbo, 30 June 1840. His wife survived him until 1855.

During the Hundred Days, Louis was the sole member of the Family who showed no devotion to the Emperor. Arrived in Rome the 24 September 1814, he had at once begun the action to recover his elder son, which caused so much scandal in Paris. He won his case, as we have already seen, but the return of the Emperor temporarily suspended the execution of the decree. He states in his memoirs that the Emperor called him to Paris in 1815, and restored him to his rank and title of French prince,

[11] About 40,000 francs, or $8000.

[12] The latter work covered only the history of his youth, up to the 18 Brumaire. The remainder of his memoirs, compiled from his manuscript notes, was published by Monsieur Jung.

" against his wishes, although he had refused to leave Rome." [13] Another grievance against the Emperor was that, for dynastic reasons, he kept in France the son of Louis, who, in the absence of the King of Rome, was the heir presumptive to the throne.

In view of the attitude of Louis toward his brother, the four Powers decreed on the 29 August 1815 that, " in the case of Louis Buonaparte, if it were his intention, as they were assured, to establish himself in the Roman State, they saw no objections to this course." So Louis remained quietly in his palace at Rome.

On the 31 August, Louis asked the authorization of the Pope to bring his son to Rome; and in September he sent his chamberlain, Baron de Zuit, to Aix to take the boy from his mother.

Louis had the most extraordinary ideas on the subject of education; and preceptor succeeded preceptor with such rapidity that Hortense could not even keep track of their names. His notions regarding diet, and personal hygiene, were equally remarkable. The boy was to drink only Bordeaux — no coffee or liqueurs; he was to wash his feet once a week; never to use any perfume; to clean his head with a dry sponge — never with water; to wear shoes large enough to be interchangeable for the two feet, and so on.

In October 1818, Louis made a formal demand of the Pope for the annulment of his marriage with Hortense, but met with no success. In June of the same year he had sold his Paris hôtel, in the Rue Cerutti, to a Swedish banker, for a sum far less than the original cost. In June 1819, he took an even heavier loss in the sale of Saint-Leu, receiving 250,000 francs for a property which had cost him originally 464,000 francs.[14]

[13] Hortense confirms the statement made by Napoleon at Saint Helena that Louis himself offered to come to Paris, but only on condition of being allowed to divorce his wife. (See 3 *Mémorial,* 512; 2 Hortense, 357; 13 Masson, 251.)

[14] In this château, ten years later, occurred the mysterious crime " which was to assure to the Duc d'Aumale an almost royal estate, at the same time as a princely fortune to Sophie Dawes, Baronne de Feuchères." (12 Masson, 308.) She was the mistress of the Duc de Bourbon, the last prince of the House of Condé, who left her ten millions in his will, while the rest of his estate — more

In 1820, Louis published his work, *Documents historiques et réflexions sur le gouvernement de la Hollande,* which was at once his apologia, and his attack upon his brother. In these volumes he wished to offer to his contemporaries and to posterity the *compte rendu* of his administration. As an example of his many misstatements we may cite his allegation of the "enthusiasm" of the Holland deputies, "coming to offer him a crown which he could not refuse, for the jealousy of the Emperor constrained his brothers to withdraw from France."

Louis had, so to speak, no history in his later years. Overcome by his infirmities; more and more morose, he gave himself up to his devotions and his literary pursuits. He died at Leghorn the 25 July 1846, just two months after the escape of Louis-Napoleon from the prison of Ham. His elder son, Napoleon-Louis, had died during the Italian insurrection of 1831.

"Under more favorable circumstances Louis would have gained a name for kindness and philanthropy," writes a friendly critic, . . . "but his morbid sensitiveness served to embitter his relations both of a domestic and of a political nature and to sour his own disposition." [15]

Pauline remained at the château of Compignano, in a state of semi-captivity, until the 5 June 1815, when she secured permission to go to the baths of Lucca.[16]

As soon as the Emperor learned of her plight, he did everything possible to succor her; but his orders were not carried out by Decrès and Caulaincourt, who were both very negligent.

By feeing largely the Austrian physicians sent to examine her, Pauline finally succeeded in securing the consent of the Government to her plans, and she set out for Lucca under the escort of twenty Austrian soldiers. The Emperor had occupied himself at Paris with the question of her finances, and she was

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than sixty-six millions — went to the Duc d'Aumale. (*Enc. Brit.,* VI, 842, and X, 296.)

[15] 4 *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 195.

[16] Turquan (315) is in error in stating that she was at Paris during the Hundred Days; and Noel-Williams (II, 325) is mistaken in saying that she remained at Compignano until October.

rejoiced to receive two remittances, for the total sum of 215,000 francs, which relieved her temporary embarrassment. At the same time she succeeded in depositing her diamonds in a place of security, beyond the reach of the Austrians.

Toward the middle of September, while still at the baths of Lucca, Pauline received a financial report from her agents at Paris. From the sale of her hôtel, there had been placed to her credit, with her bankers at Rome and at Leghorn, the sum of 250,000 francs, and the same amount was still to be paid her. Aside from her jewels, this constituted nearly her entire fortune. Her beautiful country estate of Neuilly had been absolutely ruined by the English troops encamped in the park.

On the 10 October, Pauline left for Viareggio, where she embarked on a bomb-ketch, and sailed for Civita Vecchia. She arrived in Rome the middle of the month, and joined her mother. Later, she purchased a small country house, outside the Porta Pia, which she named the Villa Paolina, and here she spent the following summer.

Pauline was much more popular in Rome than she had been during her former residence there. The Pope set the example, and society naturally followed the lead of His Holiness. Every one admired her for her absolute devotion to the Emperor. With the exception of Madame Mère, she seems to have been the only member of the family who had a sincere and disinterested affection for Napoleon. If her health had permitted, and she could have secured the permission of the British Government, she would doubtless have joined the Emperor in his exile. When, in the early summer of 1821, she learned of the alarming condition of Napoleon's health, she wrote Lord Liverpool (11 July 1821) to demand, in the name of all the family, that he be removed to a different clime, as the malady by which he was attacked was mortal at Saint Helena. It was too late, however, as Napoleon had passed away ten weeks before.

The news of the Emperor's death was a great shock to Pauline, and from that time her health grew steadily worse. In the autumn of 1823, she became reconciled to her husband, and removed to his palace at Florence. Here she died on the

9 June 1825, within four months of completing her forty-fifth year.

Pauline is buried in the chapel of the Borghese family in the Church of Santa-Maria-Maggiore, at Rome. She bequeathed to Joseph and Louis the bulk of her fortune, which amounted to about two million francs.

Poor Paulette! She had many grave faults, but they were those of a great and loving nature; and she had one transcendent virtue, which went far to atone for all — *loyalty!*

CHAPTER SIXTY-SEVEN

1815 — 1860

THE AUSTRIAN GROUP

Jérôme Leaves Paris — His Secret Return — He Is Protected by Fouché — His Escape to Würtemberg — His Letter to the King — Catherine at Göppingen — She Wins over Her Father — Arrival of Jérôme — His Property — His Second Sojourn at Trieste — Birth of Mathilde — Jérôme Returns to France — His Death — Élisa at Bologna — She Is Interned in Moravia — Her Residence at Trieste — Her Large Fortune — Her Early Death — Bacciochi Made a Roman Prince — His Death — Caroline Interned at Trieste — Tragic End of Murat — Caroline at Frohsdorf — Her Liaison with General Macdonald — Her Final Years at Florence — Her Death

JEROME reached Paris, from Laon, on the 23 June, twenty-four hours after the abdication of the Emperor, and descended at the hôtel of his uncle, Cardinal Fesch. The following day he went to the Élysée, where Napoleon gave him, for his travelling expenses, 100,000 francs in cash, and promised him some certificates upon the forests of the Domain. As he had not received these orders on the following day, Jérôme wrote Peyrusse, the treasurer of the Crown, to demand them. But the treasurer neglected to make the payment, perhaps because the Provisional Government had ordered Jérôme to leave Paris.

On the 27th, Jérôme left for Orléans, and went to the château of Douy, on the farther side of the Loire. He remained in this neighborhood about a month, and then leased a country house near Niort. His presence there was finally reported to the police at Paris, and Jérôme returned to the capital about the middle of August.

The Allies had decided, if they got possession of Jérôme, to turn him over to Prussia, and have him confined in the fortress of Wesel; but it was first necessary to catch him. While Tal-

leyrand, Vitrolles, and Decazes were raging, Jérôme escaped capture through the connivance of Fouché.

On his arrival at Paris, Jérôme had secretly communicated with the minister of Würtemberg, and asked to know the dispositions of the King in his regard. The reply must have been favorable, for he abandoned his hiding-place, and went to the embassy, where he was protected by the law of exterritoriality. Then Fouché informed the King that Jérôme was at the hôtel of the minister of Würtemberg, which the police agents could not enter. The same day, the minister was formally notified that Jérôme would be received at the château of Göppingen, on condition that he gave his parole not to leave the territory of Würtemberg without the consent of his father-in-law.

Jérôme immediately left for Stuttgart, under the escort of a Würtemberger officer. A warrant had been issued for his arrest, but the semaphore telegraph was out of order, and he succeeded in passing the frontier before the despatch reached Strasbourg.

Jérôme had escaped from dangers much more serious than he realized: he had Fouché in his favor, but the King was determined to catch him; and the only thing which saved him from falling into the hands of the Bourbons was the temporary interruption of communications between Metz and Strasbourg.

Jérôme was certainly born under a lucky star! Over and over again he had escaped perils which menaced his honor or his life. In his career, Napoleon had constantly played the rôle of Providence: now, it was Fouché.

From Carlsruhe, Jérôme wrote the King of Würtemberg to say that it had been his intention to go to America with his wife and son, but the asylum offered him had changed his plans. He concludes: "It is with a confidence and an abandon without limits that I enter the States of Your Majesty, persuaded that, when you know my character better, you will be convinced that I have never ceased to be the most tender and the most devoted of your children." And he signs: "Your most affectionate and devoted son-in-law, JEROME-NAPOLEON."

In order to understand this change in the attitude of the King of Würtemberg, who had previously shown such a violent aversion for his son-in-law, it becomes necessary to trace briefly the itinerary of Catherine during the preceding four months.

After the departure of Jérôme from Trieste, on the 24 March, Catherine waited two days before informing the police. A week later, there arrived Comte de Voyna, aide de camp of Schwarzenberg, and chamberlain of the Emperor of Austria. He was the bearer of a letter from Metternich, politely inviting Jérôme, whose flight was still unknown, to change his residence from Trieste to Prague.

In default of Jérôme, Catherine was constrained to depart. On the 3 April she left Trieste with her child, and reached Gratz on the 5th. A month later she received a very cordial letter from her father, inviting her to make her home in his States, and promising not to separate her from her husband or her son.

At the same time, the King sent M. and Mme. Geismar, to escort her to Göppingen. But Geismar was detained at Vienna nearly three weeks, and did not reach Gratz until the 12 May. Then he had no little trouble in persuading Catherine to accompany him. They finally set out on the 15th, and arrived at Göppingen on the 26th. The King had ordered her apartment entirely refurnished, and she found the château very comfortable.

Her father came to see Catherine, and was so moved by the devotion which she showed for her husband, that he arranged to save Jérôme from the Bourbons.

On his arrival in Würtemberg, Jérôme was called upon to execute a formal written agreement, setting forth the conditions of his residence. He undertook not to leave the State without permission; to use no title but that of Prince Jérôme; to wear no decorations forbidden by the High Allied Powers, and so on.

Jérôme executed this agreement on the 22 August, and the same day he arrived at Göppingen.

It will be remembered that, in December 1814, to save his property from being confiscated, Jérôme had transferred his estates of Stains and Villandry to a certain M. Hainguerlot. This man turned out to be a scoundrel, and kept these properties, as well as over a million of other securities belonging to Jérôme.

The King, who learned of this matter, and who was aware of the prodigality of his son-in-law, demanded that Jérôme should put all his remaining property in the hands of trustees. Jérôme at first refused, but the arrangement was finally made. His jewels and silver were sold at public auction, and the result was disastrous: only 700,000 francs were realized from objects which he valued at 2,700,000.

In 1816, Jérôme was authorized by the Powers to reside in Austria, and made his home for the second time at Trieste. Here, Catherine gave birth, on the 27 May 1820, to a daughter, who received from the King of Würtemberg and from Madame the name of Mathilde-Letitia-Wilhelmine.[1]

Another son was born at Trieste, 9 September 1822, and received the name of Napoleon-Joseph. During the Second Empire he was known as Prince Napoleon.[2]

In 1823, Jérôme removed to Rome, to be near his mother; and later, in 1834, to Florence, where, after the death of Catherine (1835), he married the Marquise Bartholini. In 1847, the Government of Louis-Philippe gave him permission to return to France, as he was considered inoffensive.

When his nephew, Louis-Napoleon, became President of the Republic, Jérôme was named governor of the Invalides, and marshal of France. After the coup d'état of December 1851, he was appointed president of the Senate.

Under the Second Empire, as heir presumptive to the throne, Jérôme was given the Palais-Royal and Meudon as residences,

[1] This was the charming Princesse Mathilde, so well known at Paris during the Second Empire. She died at Paris, 2 January 1904.

[2] In January 1859, he married the Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, of Italy. He died at Rome, 17 March 1891. (See Biographical Notes.)

with an allowance of a million francs. He took a very insignificant part in public affairs, and died, almost forgotten, on the 24 June 1860 — simply *un zéro disparu de la foule,* to borrow the striking expression of Jacques Richard.

At the time of the Emperor's return from Elba, in March 1815,[1] Élisa and her husband were residing very quietly at Bologna, where they had been permitted to return the previous autumn. In January, by decision of the Emperor of Austria, there had been restored to her the estate of Compignano, and all of her other property, both real and personal.

After filing two claims with the French Government, Élisa had given up all hope of receiving the allowance guaranteed her under the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Although she was closely watched, and all of her correspondence was opened and read, she was quite happy with her little Court. Her old admirer, Cenami, had been attacked by the lung trouble which was to carry him off a few months later; but she was consoled by the presence of his successor, Lucchesini, until the day that this young man suddenly disappeared, carrying off jewels to the value of 60,000 francs.

At the beginning of April, she became an object of suspicion to the Austrian Government, and was conducted to Moravia. She left her son, Frédéric, at Bologna, but was accompanied by her husband, and her daughter, Napoléon. This child, who always refused to employ the feminine form of her name, was a perfect little devil. At the age of ten, she was already beyond the control both of her governesses, and of her mother.[3]

After the Second Restoration, Élisa redoubled her efforts to secure permission to leave Brünn; but it was not until March 1816, after an unusually severe winter, that Metternich authorized her to return to Trieste. Here she took up her

[3] In 1825, she married an Italian nobleman, Comte Camerata, by whom she had one son, who committed suicide in 1853. As the Princess Bacciochi, she was well known at the Court of the Tuileries during the Second Empire. At her death in 1869, she left her property to the Prince Imperial.

residence, under the name of the Comtesse de Compignano. She appears to have been the sole member of the Family who, after the loss of her throne, was entirely resigned to her lot, and adapted herself to her changed circumstances. "Our home life is perfect," she wrote Pauline in May 1817; "our household forms but one family. These are advantages which no one can take from me, for I owe them only to myself, and to my philosophy."

From a financial point of view, Élisa was better off than any of her brothers and sisters. Metternich had returned to her all of her private fortune, and settled to her advantage all of her disputes with the Luccans. She gave to the management of her private affairs the same intelligence which she had displayed in the administration of her State, and continued to increase her fortune.

At Trieste, she purchased the fine residence of a Greek named Psara, and transformed it into a marvel of luxury. Here she lived on a regal scale. All of her investments turned out well. To the former Queen of Etruria, now become Duchess of Lucca, she sold for a million and half the villa which she had built at the baths of Lucca.

But her life was fast drawing to a close. Notwithstanding the benefits which she had derived from the waters of Baden (Austria) and of Carlsbad, she was not willing to return there; and, contrary to the advice of her physician, she visited some baths at Monfalcone, near Trieste. These baths were located in a morass, and she contracted a malarial fever which carried her off in less than a fortnight. She died on the 6 August 1820, before reaching the age of forty-four.

Élisa left two children, a daughter of fourteen years, and a son of six.[4] Besides her valuable jewels and other personal property, her estate amounted to at least eight million francs.

After his wife's death, Bacciochi sold the villa at Trieste, and went to live at Bologna. Much to his gratification, the Pope bestowed upon him the title of Roman Prince. His use-

[4] Frédéric-Napoléon, born 10 August 1814; died at Rome 7 April 1834, as the result of a horseback accident.

FELIX BACCIOCHI

less existence came to an end in 1841. Both he and Élisa are buried in a chapel of the Church of San Petronio, in Bologna.

After the flight of Murat to France, there was an insurrection at Naples, on the night of the 21–22 May 1814, and Caroline was forced to take refuge on a British vessel in the harbor. When Neipperg entered the city with the Austrian troops, she appealed to him for protection. After some delay, he decided to send her to Trieste, to await there the decision of his Government in regard to her. Her children were brought from Gaeta, and Caroline sailed with them for Trieste the first of June.

Murat remained in the South of France until after the second abdication of the Emperor, and then sailed for Corsica. He landed at Bastia, the last of August, and found refuge with a former officer of his Neapolitan army. Feeling that he was not in security from the French authorities, he then conceived the absurd project of trying to emulate Napoleon's return from Elba. He declined the very generous offer of the Emperor Francis, of Austria, to give him an asylum in his dominions, provided he renounced all claims to the throne of Naples, and agreed to live as a private individual, under the name of the Count of Lipona.[5]

The last of September, Murat sailed from Ajaccio, with some 250 followers, and landed on the coast of Calabria. Dressed in full uniform, he made his way with a few men to the nearest town. The populace failed to rise, as he had expected, and he was arrested by the gendarmerie, with his whole party.

He was removed to the castle of Pizzo, where he was tried by a military court on the 13 October, and sentenced to death. After writing a touching letter of farewell to his wife and children, and receiving absolution, he was shot that same afternoon, on the public square. He met his death with the

[5] Caroline had assumed the name of the Countess of Lipona, an anagram of Napoli (Naples).

calm courage of a brave soldier. His remains were interred in the cemetery at Pizzo.

Caroline was not permitted to remain long in Trieste. Metternich, who well knew her talents for intrigue, considered her the most dangerous member of the Bonaparte family. For many years, therefore, she was forbidden to reside at any place near the French frontiers, either in the Low Countries, Switzerland, or Italy. She settled first at Hainburg, about twenty-five miles south of Vienna; but her stay there was brief. In the autumn of 1815, she moved to Frohsdorf,[6] where she remained about nine years. It was here that she learned from a Vienna paper, toward the end of October, the tragic fate of her husband. It is doubtful if she was very much afflicted, as she had never shown much affection for Murat after the first years of their married life. Besides, she had a very devoted friend in General Macdonald,[7] formerly Minister of War at Naples, who had followed her into exile. He lived with her until his death, in 1837, and it was to his care that she owed the small fortune, of less than two million francs, which remained after the payment of her debts.

It was rumored that Caroline and Macdonald were married. But why? After a long line of lovers, from Junot and Metternich to Daure and Mier, she certainly did not require a marriage ceremony before gratifying her caprices.[8]

In 1825, Caroline was finally allowed to leave Frohsdorf, and she took up her residence in a villa near Trieste. Six years later she received permission to move to Florence, where she spent the remainder of her days. She died there on the 18 May 1839, at the age of fifty-seven.[9]

[6] This château was subsequently, for many years, the residence of the Comte de Chambord, the grandson of Charles the Tenth, and the last scion of the senior branch of the House of Bourbon.

[7] He belonged to the same family as Marshal Macdonald, the Duc de Tarente.

[8] Napoleon was much disturbed when this report reached him at Saint Helena. (See 7 Gourgaud, 279.)

[9] For her children, see Biographical Notes.

CHAPTER SIXTY-EIGHT

1815 — 1837

HORTENSE IN SWITZERLAND

Hortense Expelled from France — Her Paintings Purchased by the Czar — Refused Admission to Switzerland, She Goes to Aix — Forced to Give up Napoleon-Louis — Allowed to Settle at Constance — Purchase of Arenenberg — Description of the Château — Education of Louis-Napoleon — Death of Eugène — His Fortune — His Children — Hortense's Travels — Death of Napoleon-Louis — Journey to England with Louis — Return to Arenenberg — Death of the King of Rome — Louis Heir to the Throne — His Strasbourg Attempt — Exile to America — His Return — Death of Hortense — Her Tomb — Her Influence on the Career of Napoleon the Third

UNTIL the departure of the Emperor, Hortense remained at Malmaison, and played the part of a most attentive hostess. At the moment of Napoleon's farewell she offered him her handsomest diamond necklace, which he finally accepted, but only in exchange for an order on the Treasury for an amount far exceeding the value of the gift.

Returning to her hôtel in the Rue Cerutti, Hortense announced her intention of leaving Paris, as soon as she could obtain passports, and the routes were open. Fouché sent her word that the King was favorably disposed toward her, but thought that it would be better for her to leave the country for five or six months. This was more than Hortense had counted on, and she appealed to her old friend the Czar. A year earlier her letter would have brought an enthusiastic response from Alexander; but, this time, he did not even take the trouble to read it, and handed it over to Nesselrode.

A few days later, the Government notified her, through Prince de Schwarzenberg, who was quartered in her hôtel, that she must leave Paris at once; also, that the Emperor of Austria would furnish her with passports, and the escort of

an officer. Evidently the Allied Sovereigns had learned a lesson from the Maubreuil affair.

On the 17 July, Hortense set out, under the escort of Comte de Voyna, aide de camp of Schwarzenberg. She was accompanied only by her two children and two domestics. The Abbé Bertrand, Mlle. Cochelet, and her other servants, were to rejoin her at Geneva.

The following day, Alexander wrote Eugène, to express his regret that the conduct of Hortense during the Hundred Days had made it impossible for him to continue his former relations with her. At the same time, the Czar showed his good-feeling by purchasing from Eugène and Hortense, for a million francs, the paintings at Malmaison which had come from the gallery at Cassel, and which, in other hands than his own, might be reclaimed by their former owners.

The passports of Hortense were made out for Switzerland, and it was her plan to take up her residence in the château of Pregny, which she had inherited from her mother. On her arrival at Geneva, she sent her carriages and her servants to Pregny, while she went to a hôtel.[1] On the 25 July, she gave a dinner to Madame and Cardinal Fesch, who were on their way to Italy. They continued their journey on the 27th, and the same day she received an order to leave Geneva.

Refused a domicile in Switzerland, Hortense decided to take refuge at Aix-les-Bains, which was still French territory.[2] While she was at Aix, she was forced to give up Napoleon-Louis to the emissary sent by her husband to take possession of his elder son by virtue of the judgment of the Tribunal of the Seine, in March 1815.

After a stay of nearly four months at Aix, Hortense finally secured passports to traverse Switzerland, and go to Con-

[1] She states in her memoirs that she lodged in a small inn at Sécheron, in the northern suburbs of Geneva, about two miles from Pregny, "her little country house which was not furnished." (See 3 Hortense, 75.)

[2] A few months later Savoie was returned to Italy, and was not again incorporated in France until the reign of Napoleon the Third.

stance. On the 28 November she set out, accompanied by her son, Louis-Napoleon; his tutor, Abbé Bertrand; Mlle. Cochelet, and a dozen servants. Passing through Lausanne, Berne, and Zurich, she finally reached Constance on the 7 December.

On her arrival, Hortense was compelled to put up at a wretched inn, where she could not find room for her household. She at once began a search for a house, and succeeded in finding a comfortable dwelling at the point where the lake flows into the Rhine. The house was out of repair, but it commanded a fine view of the lake on one side and of the river on the other. Here she remained until she purchased in February 1817 the château of Arenenberg, which was to be her home in Switzerland during the remaining twenty years of her life.

The château of Arenenberg is located in the Swiss canton of Thurgau, about six miles west of the city of Constance.[3] It is charmingly situated, on a magnificently wooded hill, opposite the isle of Reichenau. Standing over a thousand feet above the level of the sea, it overlooks, not the Lake of Constance itself, but what is known as the Untersee, an expansion of the Rhine where the river leaves the lake. Hortense had as near neighbors her cousin Stéphanie, the Grand Duchess of Baden, who had a summer place at Mannenbach, and her brother Eugène, who had built a house on the lake.

At the time Hortense purchased Arenenberg, it was a small, antiquated building, which had little of the character of a château, either in its exterior architecture or its interior arrangements. It was shut in on all sides by fine old trees, and approached through vineyards. The entrance was reached by an old drawbridge, and the château was surrounded by walls. This dilapidated old castle, Hortense transformed into a beautiful modern château. The old surrounding walls were torn down, and a terrace constructed, from which there is a superb view over the lake and the valley, with the dark line of the Black Forest in the background. Winding paths, shady

[3] Since 1805, Constance has belonged to Baden.

groves, arbors and shrubbery were contrived, and the gardens were adorned with rare flowers and plants. The rooms of the château, though small in size, were decorated with a magnificent collection of paintings, statuary, and objets d'art from Malmaison. It was a museum of Napoleonic souvenirs and family portraits. Unfortunately many of the finest pieces were removed to Paris during the Second Empire, and were lost in the destruction of the palaces of the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud.[4]

Under his first tutor, the good Abbé Bertrand, Louis made little progress in his studies, and Hortense thought it best to make a change. Her choice fell on Philippe Le Bas, son of a former member of the Convention. This instructor made a strong impression on the mind of his young pupil; and in his after-life Louis-Napoleon displayed, in his acts and in his policies, the strange mixture of liberalism and of despotism which he owed to his education and to his inheritance.

In the spring of 1821, Le Bas advised Hortense to put her son in a public school at Augsburg in Bavaria, where the competition with other boys of his own age would both stimulate and encourage him. While Louis was in school in Germany, Hortense spent much of her time there, in order to be near her son, and also her brother. But Prince Eugène did not long survive the Emperor. He died suddenly at Munich, 21 February 1824, of an attack of apoplexy, at the early age of forty-two.[5]

After the fall of the Empire, Eugène had led a very quiet life in the kingdom of his father-in-law, where he bore the title

[4] Napoleon the Third, who inherited Arenenberg from his mother, presented it to the Empress Eugénie. In 1906, the Empress donated all of the remaining Napoleonic relics to the museum at Malmaison. (Paléologue, *The Tragic Empress*, 153.)

[5] Eugène had a slight attack in the royal chapel at Munich on the 30 March 1823, but recovered sufficiently to be present on the 22 May at the marriage by procuration of his eldest daughter, Joséphine, to the Prince Royal of Sweden. After a *cure* at Marienbad, he passed the summer at his villa on Lake Constance. Returning to Munich for the winter, he had several new attacks, the last of which proved fatal.

EUGENE DE BEAUHARNAIS

of Duke of Leuchtenberg. He left an immense fortune, his income being estimated at two million francs a year.[6]

During the vacations of Louis, and after he left school, Hortense travelled extensively with him. They visited every part of Switzerland, and the principal cities of Northern Italy. With the exception of one year (1827), Hortense spent all of her winters from 1824 to 1831 at Rome.

In October 1830, Hortense, accompanied by Louis, set out from Arenenberg to pass the winter as usual in Rome. She travelled by way of the Tyrol to Venice, and thence by Bologna to Florence. There she spent a happy fortnight with her two sons, the father, King Louis, being for the moment at Rome. She left Florence on the 15 November, her fête-day, a sad anniversary for her since the death of her brother, who celebrated the same day, and to be even sadder in future, as on that day she embraced her dear son Napoleon for the last time.

En route she met her husband, and they had a brief talk, without either one alighting from the carriage. Louis had recently left Rome, where he had lived since 1814, to take up his residence in Florence.[7] On her arrival at Rome Hortense went to the Palazzo Ruspoli, where she had furnished an apartment, instead of occupying the Villa Paolina, as on the occasions of her previous visits to Rome.[8] At Rome, she resumed her usual life. Every day she passed two hours with her mother-in-law, to whom she repeated the latest gossip from Paris. At that time Madame Mère was definitely installed in the Rinuccini palace, since known as the Palais Bonaparte,

[6] The six children of Eugène all made distinguished marriages. His elder son, Eugène, married Queen Maria of Portugal in January 1835, but died only seven weeks later. The second son, Max, espoused the Grand Duchess Marie, eldest daughter of Czar Nicholas. Of the four daughters, Joséphine married Oscar, the Crown Prince of Sweden; Eugénie, a Prince of the Hohenzollern family; Amélie, Dom Pedro, the first Emperor of Brazil; and the youngest daughter, the Count of Würtemberg.

[7] He occupied the Davost palace, which afterwards was the property for many years of the Emperor Napoleon the Third.

[8] In her will, Pauline had left this villa to Napoleon-Louis and his wife.

at the corner of the Corso and the Piazza di Venezia. Seven months before, in the course of a promenade in the gardens of the Villa Borghese, Madame, who was eighty years of age, had made a misstep, fallen upon her side, and broken her hip bone. Shortly afterwards cataracts formed on her eyes, which the doctors feared to remove on account of her advanced age, and she lost the sight of both eyes.[9]

"Condemned," says Hortense, "to pass the rest of her days lying down, without the power of walking, because she had broken her thigh and they feared to set it, she supports her misfortune with an admirable courage. Her head is clear and strong; she is indifferent to nothing which happens in the political world."

"I loved," continues Hortense, "to hear her talk of the childhood of the Emperor: then she became animated, and refound, with her memory, all the vivacity of youth."[10]

The Pope, Pius the Eighth, was ill at the time Hortense reached Rome, and his death, on the 30 November, was the signal for an insurrection in the Papal States. Louis, who had shown his sympathy with the revolutionary movement, was seized in Rome, and escorted across the frontier. He joined his father and brother at Florence, where he was persuaded, with Napoleon, to take an active part in the patriotic movement to free Italy from the yoke of Austria and the Pope. On the 20 February 1831 the two young princes left Florence to join the insurgents in the Romagna.

Warned by a letter which she received from her sons on the 18 February, Hortense left Rome the following day, and reached Florence on the 20th, only to learn that her sons had already left the city. A servant handed her a letter from Louis, in which he said: "Your affection will understand us: we have assumed obligations which we must fulfill, and the name that we bear obliges us to succor the unfortunate people who call us."

Hortense passed the night in writing her sons. She begged

[9] Larrey, 1 *Madame Mére,* 357, 359.
[10] Queen Hortense, 3 *Mémoires,* 189.

them, if they could honorably do so, to withdraw from this enterprise, which could result only in misfortune. In the morning she received a visit from her husband, who was as much disturbed as herself over the course taken by their sons. He sent them, by courier after courier, repeated orders to return at once. As his feeble health would not permit him to travel, Louis begged his wife to go in search of the children, and bring them back. In order to calm her husband, but without any hope of success, Hortense promised to go to the frontier of Tuscany, and asked for passports. But she put off her departure from day to day, as she could not devise any plan to rescue her sons. Finally, through an English friend, Lord Seymour, whom she had known well for many years, she secured an English passport, in the name of "Mrs. Hamilton, returning with her two sons to England by way of France."

Armed with this passport, Hortense left Florence, accompanied only by one of her ladies, on the 12 March, and reached Perugia the following day. On the 14th she arrived at Foligno, where she passed five days in a miserable inn, and then set out for Ancona. At the first post she met a stranger who informed her that Prince Napoleon was seriously ill with measles, at Forli. She changed her route, and arrived on the 20 March at Pesaro, where she lodged in the palace of her nephew, the young Duke of Leuchtenberg, the eldest son of Eugène. There she was joined by Louis, who announced that his brother had died at Forli on the 17 March.

At this sad moment Hortense could not give way to her grief, but was obliged to recall all of her courage, to save the life of her only remaining child. Although her strength was nearly exhausted, it was necessary to leave Pesaro at once, in order to escape the Austrian army, which was only two days' march from the city. She ordered her horses attached to the carriage and left on the 22 March for Ancona, where she arrived the following day. She installed herself in a palace on the border of the sea.[11]

[11] This palace, like the one at Pesaro, belonged to her nephew.

In all her trouble, Hortense did not lose her presence of mind. Her passport covered two young men, and it was necessary to find some one who could pass for her second son. She chose the Marquis Zappi,[12] who had been gravely compromised in the revolt.

To add to her tribulations, Hortense found that Louis had a high fever, and the doctor, whom she called in, said that he was coming down with the measles. She gave out the news that she herself was ill, and installed her son in a cabinet behind her bedroom. Then she secured a passport for Louis to Corfu, engaged his passage on a vessel about to sail, and announced his departure. She even wrote her husband to the same effect, anticipating that her letter would be opened by the Austrians. For this pious deceit she was subsequently most severely blamed by King Louis and the whole Bonaparte clan.

On the 29 March the Austrian troops entered Ancona. The palace where Hortense was lodged was the finest in the city, and she had anticipated that it would be occupied by the general-in-chief and his staff. She had therefore abandoned all the salons, and reserved for herself only a modest suite on an upper floor. By a fortunate chance the colonel who commanded the advance-guard was the same Austrian officer who had come to her rescue, and saved her from the Royalist mob, at Dijon, when she left France in 1815. No one ever forgot the charm of Hortense, and he readily agreed to let her keep her apartment in the palace.

At the end of a week the doctor announced that Louis was well enough to travel. Then Hortense granted an interview to the commander-in-chief, General Geppert, who was full of consideration, and readily gave her a safe-conduct through the Austrian lines. She stated that it was her plan to embark at Leghorn, rejoin her son at Malta, and go with him to England. She also expressed her desire to hear Mass at Loreto,

[12] He had married a daughter of Stanislas, Prince Poniatowski, a first cousin of the marshal of the Empire who perished at Leipzig.

the following morning, which would be Easter Sunday, and her intention, therefore, to leave at an early hour.

The next morning Hortense set out at daybreak, with her son and the young Zappi both dressed in the liveries of domestics. The gates of the city were passed without any trouble from the guards. On leaving Loreto, Hortense did not take the most direct route for France, but made a southerly détour by way of Foligno, Perugia, and Siena, to Pisa. Here, for the first time, the two young men resumed their ordinary attire, and Hortense used her English passport. Traversing Lucca, they reached the west coast of Massa, and proceeded via Genoa and Nice to Cannes, where at last, on French soil, they were safe from the Austrians. The journey had been full of peril, and the fugitives were more than once in danger of being arrested.[13]

From Cannes, Hortense continued her journey by way of Aix, Avignon, and Lyon, to Fontainebleau, where she arrived on the 22 April, three weeks after leaving Ancona. The latter part of her route was, for her, full of souvenirs. At Nemours, in December 1809, she had met her brother, by orders of the Emperor, and notified him that the divorce was decided upon. At Fontainebleau she wished to show to her son the palace which had been the scene of the brilliant fêtes in the autumn of 1807, following the peace of Tilsit. There also she could point out to Louis the place where he was held at the baptismal font by the Emperor,[14] and the small table in Napoleon's cabinet upon which he signed in April 1814 his first abdication.

On Saturday, the 23 April 1831, at dusk, they arrived at the gate of Paris. Instead of following the crooked and sombre Rue Mouffetard, Hortense gave her coachman orders to take the Boulevard de l'Hôpital, cross the Pont d'Austerlitz,

[13] The courier who accompanied the Queen was Charles Thélin, who, like his wife, was so constantly devoted to the family. He was afterwards the faithful valet of Louis-Napoleon, shared his imprisonment in the fortress of Ham, and was his Privy Purse at the Tuileries, during the Second Empire.

[14] The ceremony was performed by Cardinal Fesch, in the chapel of the Sainte-Trinité of the Château, on Sunday, 4 November 1810. The Emperor was his godfather, and the Empress Marie-Louise, the godmother.

and follow the line of the grands boulevards from the Place de la Bastille to the Rue de la Paix, where he was to stop at the first hotel he found. Chance brought them to the Hôtel de Hollande, which is still in existence, near the present Rue Daunou. Hortense occupied a small suite on the first floor, with a balcony along the street, from which could be seen the boulevard, and the column of the Place Vendôme.

Hortense directed her companion, Mlle. Masuyer, to write a letter to Colonel d'Houdetot, aide de camp of the King, to announce her arrival in Paris with an English family, and her desire to see him in order to fulfill a commission from the Duchesse de Saint-Leu.

Sunday evening, the 24 April, Colonel d'Houdetot called on the Queen, and she informed him of her desire to see the King. On Tuesday evening he returned to escort Hortense to the Palais-Royal, where Louis-Philippe was still living.[15]

In his *Mémoires,*[16] Monsieur Guizot has given an amusing account of the visit of the Queen: "The King received her secretly at the Palais-Royal in the small bedroom occupied by Comte d'Houdetot, and where the Queen and Madame Adélaïde, summoned one after the other, by order of the King, also came to see her. The interview was long, although rather uncomfortable: in the room, there was no furniture except a bed, a table and two chairs. The Queen and Queen Hortense were seated upon the bed; the King and Madame Adélaïde on the two chairs; Comte d'Houdetot was leaning against the door to prevent any indiscreet entry."

Hortense says that the King was polite — even gracious. He expressed his regret over their exile, and said: "The time is not distant when there will be no more exiles: I do not wish any under my reign." He spoke of Hortense's father, whom he had known well, and also of her cousin, the Grand Duchess

[15] It was not until the 30 September following that, upon the insistence of his ministers, the King decided to move to the Tuileries, which were much easier to defend in case of public disturbances.

[16] Guizot, 2 *Mémoires,* 218.

of Baden, for whom he had a strong attachment. He excused himself from coming to call upon her, on account of his new position, and the secrecy of her journey. In brief, the royal family all displayed so much interest, and so much sympathy, that Hortense left them " enchanted with their welcome."

If her son had been well enough, Hortense would have departed at once for London, but Louis still had a high fever, and the physician advised her not to travel until he was stronger. At this moment an event occurred which hastened their departure. On the morning of the 5 May, the anniversary of the death of the Emperor, a large number of his old soldiers came to lay flowers and wreaths at the foot of his column in the Place Vendôme. Although there was no disorder, there were many cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* The Government became alarmed, and gave orders for the immediate departure of the Queen and her son.

On the afternoon of the 6 May, Hortense and Louis left for Chantilly, where they passed the night. Travelling slowly, they reached Calais in four days, and embarked for Dover. Their first night in England was spent in Canterbury. At London, after a brief stop at Fenton's Hotel, Hortense installed herself in a private house which she had hired.[17]

Hortense writes that it would be impossible for one to receive more marks of politeness and of interest than were shown her in London. To name those who entertained her would be to give a list of all the most distinguished persons in English society. The Duchess of Bedford, with whom Hortense had been very intimate at the time of the peace of Amiens, showed her many attentions, giving a garden-fête at her London mansion, and inviting the Queen and her son to visit her at Woburn Abbey.

Much of their time was also spent in sight-seeing. They visited the Tower, the Thames Tunnel, Hampton Court, and Richmond.

[17] Blanchard Jerrold (*Life of Napoleon III*) states that this house was in Holles Street; Mlle. Masuyer says that it was No. 30, George Street. This was probably George Street, Hanover Square — there are eight streets of that name in London.

At London, Hortense found the eldest son of Murat, Napoléon-Achille,[18] who had recently arrived from America with his young wife. Also, her niece Amélie; [19] and Prince Leopold, who was soon to become King of the Belgians.

Fatigued by this round of fêtes and visits, Hortense went to Tunbridge Wells, to try the waters. On her return, the first of August, Prince Talleyrand, then ambassador to the Court of Saint James's, sent Hortense word by his niece, the Duchesse de Dino, that he had procured passports for herself and her son, to return to Switzerland by way of France.

Hortense and Louis accordingly took the boat from Dover to Calais on the 7 August. They had a smooth passage, and proceeded at once to Boulogne, where Hortense wished to show her son the scenes made memorable by the camps of the Grand Army. They visited on the heights the marble monument which commemorates those glorious days.[20]

Ascending to the top of the monument, Hortense pointed out to her son the locations of the different camps, the hut of the Emperor, and the site of his throne on the day that he distributed for the first time to this army the coveted crosses of the Légion d'honneur. Three strangers, a lady and two gentlemen, who had listened with great interest to Hortense's description, then addressed the Queen, and told her of a jest which circulated in the salons of Paris, at the time of their departure. This was, to make France a republic, with three consuls: the Duc de Reichstadt, the Duc d'Orléans, and the

[18] Napoléon-Achille Murat, prince royal of Naples, born at Paris 21 January 1801, had emigrated to Jefferson, Florida, where he married, 30 July 1826, Caroline Dudley, great-niece of George Washington. She was born in 1806, and died at Jefferson in August 1867. He died there 12 April 1847.

[19] Amélie-Augustine-Eugénie, third daughter of Prince Eugène, born at Monza (near Milan) 31 July 1812, died at Lisbon 26 July 1873, had married at Munich, 2 August 1829, Pedro, first Emperor of Brazil. Proclaimed Emperor 12 October 1822, Pedro had renounced, 2 May 1826, the throne of Portugal in favor of his daughter, Maria II, who became the wife of the eldest son of Eugène.

[20] The Column of the Grand Army, begun in November 1804, was unfinished at the fall of the Empire. It was completed, and renamed, by the Bourbons. In 1830, the original name was restored, and the statue of Napoleon was inaugurated on the 15 August 1841.

Duc de Bordeaux; [21] that, they said, would be the only way of satisfying everybody. "But," they added, with a laugh, "the First Consul might well end by making himself Emperor, and get the best of the two others."

At Chantilly, they went over the Château, which, since 1814, had again become the property of the Prince de Condé,[22] and which he had left at his death to the Duc d'Aumale. The woods around had once been the property of Hortense, forming part of the appanage given her second son by the Emperor at the time of the reunion of Holland to France, in 1810.

They next visited Mortefontaine, the home of King Joseph during the Empire, which they found in a state of decay. Pillaged by the Allies in 1815, it had never been repaired. At the time of Hortense's visit it was the property of the Baronne de Feuchères, to whom it was bequeathed by the Prince de Condé, who had purchased it in 1827.

At Saint-Denis they visited the former mausoleum of the Kings of France, destroyed during the Revolution, but restored by Napoleon, to be the final resting place of the members of the new dynasty. The only tomb they saw was that of Louis the Eighteenth. The ashes of the head of the Imperial family were in the hands of his hated foe, and the rest of his family were to die dispersed in foreign lands!

Louis desired to see again his childhood home of Saint-Leu,

[21] That is to say, of the representatives of the Imperialists, the Orleanists, and the senior line of the House of Bourbon.

[22] The House of Condé, for many years the most distinguished in France next to the royal family, was descended from Louis de Bourbon, fifth and last son of Charles, Duc de Vendôme, younger brother of Antoine, King of Navarre. He was therefore first cousin of Henri Quatre. The last of the family was the Duc de Bourbon, father of the Duc d'Enghien executed by Napoleon, and who married his cousin, Louise d'Orléans. After the Second Restoration, Louis sold him Saint-Leu, and he died there under suspicious circumstances just prior to the Revolution of 1830. Chantilly was bequeathed, with most of his enormous property, to his great-nephew, the Duc d'Aumale, the balance being left to his English mistress, Sophia Dawes, known as the Baronne de Feuchères. At his death in 1897, the Duc d'Aumale left Chantilly, with its magnificent collection of art, to the Institute of France, and it is now known as the Musée Condé.

but it was too far out of their way. They did not enter Paris, but took the route around the city, to visit at Rueil the tomb of Joséphine, which Hortense had not yet seen.[23]

It was impossible to enter Malmaison, as they had no time to secure the necessary permit from the new owner. Therefore Hortense returned to Switzerland without having seen either of her former homes.[24]

Not long after their return from England, there occurred an event which was destined to change materially the course of their lives. On the 22 July 1832, Napoleon the Second died at Vienna, and Louis-Napoleon became the head of the family. The two lives which stood between him and the succession had been removed within a period of sixteen months.

After a visit in England to his uncle, King Joseph, who wished to discuss with him the new political situation brought about by the death of his cousin, Louis no longer hesitated to pose as the heir to the Imperial Throne.

Among the visitors to Arenenberg the following year were, Chateaubriand, Madame Récamier, and Alexandre Dumas, all of whom left in their memoirs charming pictures of the life at the Swiss château.[25] Louis also had an interview with La Fayette, who promised his support to the new Imperial candidate. "Osez donc et je vous aiderai de tous mes moyens, quand le moment sera venu," he said. Louis replied with confidence, "Il viendra!"

The last of October 1836, Louis thought that the moment had come, and he made his famous attempt at Strasbourg to overthrow the throne of Louis-Philippe. The result was a fiasco, but the enterprise was not so rash as has frequently been represented.

[23] It was not until 1822 that Eugène and Hortense were able to begin the erection of this beautiful monument to the Empress, which was not completed until 1825, after the death of Eugène. The church was later rebuilt by Napoleon III, who erected there a monument to his mother.

[24] Queen Hortense, 3 *Mémoires,* 161–347.

[25] See the author's *Napoleon the Third,* 53–56.

Louis remained a prisoner at Strasbourg until the 9 November, when he was conducted to Paris. In response to the prayers of Hortense, the King decided to exile him from France, without the formality of a trial. He was taken to Lorient, and put on the frigate *Andromède,* which sailed for America on the 21 November.

After a roundabout voyage of four months, by way of Rio Janeiro, Louis landed at Norfolk, Virginia, the last of March 1837. In a letter to his mother from New York, under date of the 17 April, he gives an interesting description of his journey from Virginia, by way of Baltimore and Philadelphia, partly by railway and partly by boat. He speaks particularly of passing before Point Breeze, the former residence of his uncle, King Joseph, at Bordentown, New Jersey, which he describes as, "a pretty little house on the banks of the Delaware."

Louis had intended to spend a year in making a tour of the United States, but his plans were changed by news of the serious illness of his mother. Early in June he received a touching letter from Hortense, written on the 3 April, when she expected to have an operation. The letter, which had been delayed in transmission, bore on the outside, in the well-known hand of Dr. Conneau, the words: *Venez! Venez!* To the day of his death, the Emperor Napoleon the Third carried a well-worn leather pocketbook, from which he never parted, and among its contents was this last letter from his mother, stained and blurred from the salt water of Boulogne.

Louis at once booked his passage on the first vessel leaving New York, and sailed on the 12 June. He arrived four weeks later at London, where he found it impossible to secure passports through France. He therefore crossed to Holland, and reached Switzerland by way of the Rhine. On his arrival at Arenenberg, on the 5 August, he found his mother very low, but she lived exactly two months, expiring on the 5 October 1837 at the age of fifty-four.

In accordance with her desire, the remains of Hortense were transported to France, and on the 8 January 1838 were placed

in a vault of the church at Rueil where her mother was buried. The only member of either family present at the interment was Caroline Murat, who was to be the next to pass away, on the 18 May of the following year.

Faithful to the memory of his mother, Louis-Napoleon erected a beautiful monument in her honor, on the opposite side of the altar from the tomb which Eugène and Hortense had built for their mother, the Empress Joséphine; and during the Second Empire he rebuilt the church.

In spite of her frail health, her quiet life in a corner of Switzerland, her air of detachment from all that was going on in the great world outside, Hortense was the connecting link between the first and the second Empires. From her, Louis-Napoleon received his political training; from her, he derived the principle which he made the governing idea of his politics: that popular crowds are swayed by sentiment, rather than guided by reason. From her, also, he inherited the best side of his adventurous nature: the dreamy and romantic tenderness, the quiet obstinacy, the unalterable self-confidence, the force of character, and even the delicate sensibility.

It was fortunate perhaps for Hortense that she did not live longer. She did not see the future glory of her son, but she did not witness his misfortunes. She did not have the supreme satisfaction of seeing him on the throne of the Great Emperor, but she was not fated to behold a day even more humiliating for France than Waterloo.

CHAPTER SIXTY-NINE

JULY 1815 — MAY 1821

THE TRAGEDY OF SAINT HELENA

Napoleon at Torbay — He Is Sent to Saint Helena — His Companions in Exile — Description of the Island — Napoleon's Arrival — His Stay at The Briars — His Memoirs — He Moves to Longwood — The House — Napoleon's Quarters — The Household — Bertrand and His Wife — M. and Mme. Montholon — Las Cases — General Gourgaud — His Ingratitude — The Servants — Napoleon's Books — His Jailer — The Emperor's Four Grievances — The Question of Title — The Matter of Finances — Sale of the Silver — The Subject of Custody — Napoleon's Stable — The Restrictions on His Riding — Bad Effect on His Health — First Signs of His Malady — O'Meara Deported — Stokoe Called — He Is Cashiered — Napoleon Without a Physician — Arrival of the Priests — Napoleon's Religion — Dr. Antommarchi — The Final Illness — Dr. Arnott — Napoleon's Correct Diagnosis — His Testament — Announcement to the Governor — Napoleon's Death

AFTER a slow, but pleasant voyage of eight days, the *Bellerophon* anchored at Torbay on the 24 July. By order of the British Government, no members of the suite of the Emperor were allowed to land, and it was impossible for General Bertrand to deliver Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent. The Emperor had many warm admirers among the Opposition, and it was feared that some of his friends might apply for a writ of Habeas Corpus; therefore, no communication was allowed with the shore.

As soon as it became known that the Emperor was on the ship, the waters of the bay were covered with small boats, crowded with people who were curious to get a glimpse of the Great Man. This spontaneous demonstration alarmed the Government, and the *Bellerophon* was ordered to proceed to Plymouth. Here, on the 31 July, the decision of the Government was officially communicated to the Emperor by Admiral Lord Keith:

"The isle of Saint Helena has been chosen for his future residence. The climate there is healthy, and the local situation will permit that he be treated with greater leniency than in any other place, with an equal security.

"Among the persons who have been conducted to England with *General Buonaparte,* it is permitted him to choose (with the exception of generals Savary and Lallemand) three officers, who, with the surgeon, will receive permission to accompany him to Saint Helena."

The Emperor was notified further that he would be under the charge of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, and that it was desirable that he should choose his suite without delay, as the admiral would probably be ready to sail in a few days.

Napoleon immediately wrote another letter to the Prince Regent, protesting vigorously against this decision of the Government. His letter was forwarded to London, but remained without response. The *Bellerophon* was ordered to return to Torbay, where the party would be transferred, for the voyage, to a newer vessel, the *Northumberland.*

On the morning of the 6 August the *Bellerophon* sighted the *Northumberland,* and the two vessels anchored in a lonely spot to the west of Berry Head. Here the transfer was made. Up to this moment, in spite of orders, Napoleon had been treated as the Emperor: in the future, he was to be addressed only as *General Buonaparte.*

For his companions in exile, Napoleon chose Bertrand, Gourgaud, and Montholon; and Las Cases was added to the number in the coveted post of secretary. As the physician originally selected refused to go to Saint Helena, O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon,* was taken as a substitute.

During the long voyage of ten weeks, Napoleon passed most of his time in his cabin, where he at once began to dictate his memoirs to Las Cases. He dined every day with the admiral, Sir George Cockburn. In the evening, he played cards or chess in the general cabin.

SAINT HELENA (RELIEF MAP)

THE TRAGEDY OF ST. HELENA

Saint Helena is situated almost in the middle of the South Atlantic, 1800 miles east of Brazil, 1200 miles west of the mouth of the Congo, 4000 miles from the Strait of Gibraltar. The island is about ten miles by eight in dimensions, and its population in 1815 was less than three thousand, only a quarter of whom were white.

It was a hundred years after the first memorable voyage of Columbus that Englishmen learned of the great wealth to be derived from the India trade; and here, on the island of Saint Helena, in 1651, the English East India Company established its great way station. By charter from Charles the Second in 1661, the Company assumed a control over the island which lasted for nearly two centuries. The island plantations were cultivated with slave labor; and fresh vegetables and meat animals were provided for the ships which touched here on the voyages between England and India.

The monopoly of the Indian trade by the East India Company was abolished in 1813, with the result that there was a sudden growth of shipping and competition. The China tea clippers, queens of the ocean, began to touch at the island for supplies as they raced home from the typhoon seas.

Steep, black, and deeply furrowed, the gloomy mass of rock rises from the midst of the ocean, just as it was thrown up by some mighty convulsion of Nature thousands upon thousands of years ago. To the traveller who first sees it from the deck of a ship, the chasm above the harbor looks like the gate to hell: "All hope abandon, ye who enter here!" The climate is deadly: no European can stay long on the island; few live to be fifty, and no one reaches the age of sixty. All the inhabitants suffer from liver trouble and enteric diseases. The climate is so changeable that within an hour the fierce heat of the equator may give place to a glacial downpour. The only comparatively healthy places of residence are a half a dozen sites, near the harbor, which are sheltered from the wind.

The most deadly spot of all is the bleak tableland, appropriately named by the inhabitants *Deadwood*. Situated 1700 feet above the sea level, on the windward side of the island, the

plateau is almost constantly blanketed by the sea fog. There is practically no vegetation — only a few gnarled and twisted gum trees, blighted by the trade-wind. Here is Longwood, the residence selected by England as the one in which her unwelcome guest can the most quickly and the most certainly be put out of existence. The sole advantage of the site is that in summer the temperature is about ten degrees cooler than in the town, at the sea level, where the thermometer ranges from 60° to 80° in summer, from 57° to 70° in winter. Although within the tropics, the climate is moderated by the southwest trade-wind, constant throughout the year, and by the cold waters of the South Atlantic current.

" And where, we may ask," writes Professor Rose, " could a less unpleasant place of detention have been found? In Europe he must inevitably have submitted to far closer confinement. The Tower of London, the eyrie of Dumbarton Castle, even Fort William itself, were named as possible places of detention. Were they suited to this child of the Mediterranean? He needed sun; he needed exercise; he needed society. All these he could have on the plateau of Longwood, in a singularly equable climate, where the heat of the tropics is assuaged by the southwest trade-wind, and plants of the sub-tropical and temperate zones alike flourish." [1]

From this roseate description of this terrestrial Paradise, it is very evident that Dr. Holland Rose never visited Saint Helena!

Saint Helena was sighted at six o'clock on the evening of Saturday the 14 October, and the *Northumberland* dropped anchor in the port of Jamestown the following noon.[2] On Monday, Napoleon remained on the ship, while Cockburn landed to search for a house for the Emperor. Napoleon finally went ashore on Tuesday evening, after dinner, and passed the

[1] 2 Rose, 500–501.

[2] For the captivity of Napoleon, we have three authorities of different values: Las Cases, from July 1815 to 25 November 1816; Gourgaud, from July 1815 to 13 February 1818; Montholon, for the whole period up to 5 May 1821, but the dates given by him are not always exact. (See also Bibliography.)

night in a house in Jamestown. He arose at six o'clock the next morning, and rode out with Admiral Cockburn and General Bertrand to visit Longwood, the house selected for his residence. The place was then occupied by the family of the lieutenant-governor, Skelton, with whom they took breakfast. The house was far from attractive, but Napoleon, who was used to camp life, raised no objections.

In riding back from Longwood, the Emperor noticed a very attractive-looking little house, standing on a green knoll, back from the road. It was approached by a shaded walk, and surrounded by large trees. There were flowers everywhere; and in the rear of the house there was an orchard of fruit trees. A cascade two hundred feet high, the water turning to spray as it fell, tempered the air with a delightful freshness. Through a chasm in the rocks, Jamestown and the Ocean could be seen, at a distance of about a mile.

On inquiry, Napoleon learned that the place was called The Briars, and that it was owned by a Mr. Balcombe, a general agent of the East India Company. The family consisted of Mr. Balcombe, his wife, and two young girls, Jane and Betsy.

Adjoining the house, there was a small pavilion, consisting of a single room on the ground floor and a low attic above. This, Napoleon arranged to occupy during the period necessary to alter Longwood for his permanent residence. He sent Bertrand back to the town, and ordered that Las Cases alone should rejoin him.

The eight weeks which the Emperor spent in this improvised abode were the happiest of his stay at Saint Helena. He himself occupied the small lower room, while Las Cases and his son slept in the attic above, which was just large enough to take their two beds.

Napoleon arose early, took a walk in the garden, and breakfasted at ten. Then he resumed with Las Cases the dictation of his memoirs, which he had begun on the ship. This was before the days of shorthand, but his secretary used a kind of abbreviated longhand, and dictated his notes to his son, to be transcribed, while the matter was fresh in his memory. The

following morning, this record was read to the Emperor, and corrected by him, before he took up his work. The history began with the siege of Toulon, and continued with the campaign of Italy, which was nearly finished at the end of October 1815.

The work was often interrupted by visits from the Balcombe children, or by callers from the town, who entered unceremoniously — not from discourtesy, but only through ignorance.

After a few days, a large tent was erected adjoining the pavilion, and assigned to Gourgaud, to whom the Emperor began to dictate notes on the 18 Brumaire and the début of the Consulate.

At the end of the day's work, the scribes were asked to stay for dinner. At first the meals had been served from the town, but now a cook was installed, and table service had been unpacked. After the visitors had left, the Emperor found the evenings very long while awaiting eleven o'clock, his regular hour for retiring. Sometimes he remained in the tent, where the meals were served, talking with Las Cases and his son; oftener, he seated himself in the garden, where he was joined by the Balcombes. Napoleon had always been fond of gossip; now he drew out his company to relate all the doings of the town and the garrison, and the news brought by travellers from England or the Cape.

It was December, and the tropical summer had come, before the Emperor took possession of his final home at Longwood. On the 8th, the admiral called, to announce that the work was completed, and to ask when the Emperor would be ready to move. He designated the second day following.

To the original building, there had been hastily added the necessary quarters for the two Montholons, the two Las Cases, Dr. O'Meara, the officer charged with the surveillance, and the domestics. From the porch one entered a fair-sized billiard-room, and passed through into the salon, beyond which was the dining-room, lighted only by a glass door. Opening out of this room, on the left was the library, and on the right Napoleon's private suite, comprising a study, bedroom, and bath.

For half a century, Longwood had been a stable. Then,

LONGWOOD

without even taking the trouble to clear away the filth, negro laborers and ship carpenters had laid wooden floors over the earth. In a brief time, the dampness from the reeking soil penetrated the planks, the flooring rotted and broke. The servants' quarters were flooded by the rain, as the roof was made only of felting.

The Emperor lived in two small rooms, each about twelve feet by fourteen. The bedroom had a threadbare carpet, muslin curtains, a fireplace, painted wooden chairs, two small tables, a wash-stand, and a sofa. It boasted a few trophies saved from his ruin: the little iron camp-bed, with its green silk curtains, which he had used in his campaigns; a silver lamp; and a magnificent toilet-set, with silver ewers and basins. On the white painted mantel-shelf were two eagle candlesticks from Saint-Cloud; between them was the marble bust of the King of Rome; and, hanging to the faded gilt frame of the mirror, were four miniatures of the boy. On the wall there was hung a picture of Joséphine, and the gold watch of Rivoli; also the silver alarum-clock of Frederick the Great, from Potsdam.

The study was furnished with a bare table, rough wooden shelves, closely packed with books, and an extra bed, on which the Emperor could recline during the day, or to which he could change at night when restless or sleepless.

The whole premises were infested with enormous rats, which killed the fowls, bit General Bertrand in the hand, and sprang out of Napoleon's three-cornered hat as he took it from the sideboard.

Unfortunately, Napoleon's household at Longwood was hardly more congenial than his other surroundings. The principal personages were few in number: Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, Gourgaud.

Bertrand, a former aide de camp of the Emperor, who had succeeded Duroc as grand marshal, was an engineer officer of distinction. He was devoted to his master, and not less devoted to his young wife. He was touchy, and too proud to write from dictation. Among the companions of the Emperor, he was the

only one who did not write a book, and this is much to be regretted, as, with the exception of Montholon, he was the only one to remain until the end, and of the three final years of Napoleon's life we know but little.

Madame Bertrand was the daughter of Arthur Dillon, Colonel of the Dillon Regiment, celebrated in the history of France. By his first marriage he had one daughter, who married the Marquis de La Tour du Pin.[3] After the death of his first wife, Dillon married a widow, Mme. de La Touche, a first cousin of the Empress Joséphine. When their daughter, Fanny Dillon, was twenty-two years of age, in 1808, Napoleon himself arranged her marriage with General Bertrand, who was twelve years her senior.[4] She was a very beautiful, fascinating woman, with much of the Creole charm of Joséphine. She spoke English with perfect fluency. At Plymouth she begged her husband not to follow Napoleon to Saint Helena, and threatened to throw herself overboard. After this scene, she seems to have become reconciled to her lot; she won the esteem of all who knew her, and was the peacemaker of the little community. One trait of humor is recorded of her. At Saint Helena she gave birth to a son, whom she presented to the Emperor as "the first French visitor who had entered the island without the permission of Lord Bathurst."

Of M. and Mme. Montholon, we see but little. He had known Napoleon since he went to Corsica as a child with his mother, and his stepfather M. de Sémonville. Later he was at school with Jérôme and Eugène. He served in nearly all of the campaigns of the Empire, and was much at the Imperial Court.[5] After the departure of Las Cases, he became the Emperor's secretary, and the most necessary member of his suite. When his wife left the island in 1819 he wished to accompany

[3] She was the author of the *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans,* published in English under the title of *Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire.*

[4] See 2 *Journal,* 269–270; *Recollections,* 343–344.

[5] After sharing at Saint Helena the exile of the Emperor, it was his strange fate, twenty years later, to be the prison-companion of Napoleon's nephew, Louis-Napoleon, in the fortress of Ham.

her, and remained only at the urgent request of the Emperor. It is a curious fact that their marriage had once been forbidden by Napoleon because she was a divorcée. Later the Emperor was tricked into giving his consent to Montholon's marriage with " the niece of President Séguier," without realizing that she was the same woman.

In his younger days, Las Cases had been an officer in the Royal Navy. He emigrated at the beginning of the Revolution, but returned to France after the 18 Brumaire, and was made a counsellor of State. It was not until the Hundred Days that he became closely associated with the Emperor. A marquis of the Ancien Régime, a comte of the Empire, a thorough Parisian; cultured, pleasant of temper, always ready to serve, he was the most agreeable companion and the most capable secretary the Emperor had. Three years older than Napoleon, he was to survive him by twenty-one. He was the author of the *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène,* which brought him a small fortune.[6]

Gourgaud was born in 1783 at Versailles where his father was a musician at the Royal chapel. He entered the Army at a very early age, and fought with distinction in all the campaigns of the Empire from Austerlitz to Waterloo. For his services in Russia he received the title of baron. During the final campaign he was an aide de camp of the Emperor. After the battle of Waterloo, he returned with Napoleon to Paris, followed him to Rochefort and England, and begged to be his companion in exile. He was useful to the Emperor because of his experience on the general staff, and his extensive knowledge of military affairs. But his inordinate vanity and jealousy made him unbearable in the small circle at Longwood. He was constantly quarrelling with Montholon and Las Cases. At the end of two years, he could stand the life no longer, and he left the island, armed with letters from the governor, with whom he had made friends.

On his arrival in London, on the 9 May 1818, he saw the

[6] His son, who returned in 1840 with the expedition to bring home Napoleon's remains, was afterwards a senator under the Second Empire.

ministers and assured them that the malady of the Emperor was a "farce," and the measures taken to prevent his escape none too severe, as he could leave whenever he wished. Later, he appeared at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he repeated the same story to the Congress of Sovereigns. The results were, that the course of Lowe was formally approved; no answer was made to the pathetic appeal of Madame; and there was no longer any hope of the transfer of the prisoner to a more salubrious clime. It is hard to explain this course of action on the part of a man whom Napoleon had loaded with favors.[7]

Besides these principal personages, there were three loyal servants, whose names should be recorded: Marchand, the first valet de chambre of the Emperor, and the two Corsicans, Capriani and Santini, who linked the island of his birth with the isle of his exile.

At the age of nineteen, in 1811, Marchand had entered the household of the Emperor, where he had given many proofs of his intelligence, devotion, and discretion. His mother was the devoted nurse of the King of Rome, and it was through Mme. Marchand and her son that Napoleon received from Vienna in 1816 the precious lock of the golden hair of his son.[8]

Capriani had had a romantic career. In 1808 he was a member of the garrison of Capri, in the pay of England, when the place was captured by the French from Sir Hudson Lowe, the future jailer of the Emperor. In 1814, sent from Elba on a secret mission to Vienna, it is said that he was the first to warn Napoleon of the intention to transport him to an isle of the Ocean. At Saint Helena he was the head of the Emperor's secret service department; he kept his master constantly posted regarding all the moves of his enemies. His son was at Rome

[7] Gourgaud was a member of the party which brought back the remains of the Emperor in 1840. He died in 1852, on the eve of the proclamation of the Second Empire, but his *Journal de Sainte-Hélène* was not published until 1898. In the opinion of Lord Rosebery this book is the "one capital and supreme record" of the life at Longwood. His portrait of Napoleon is one of the most pleasing that we have.

[8] See Masson, *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène,* 340–344.

with Cardinal Fesch, his daughter with Madame Mère. He died at Saint Helena.

Associated with Capriani was Santini, who was about twenty-five years of age. He had been a Corsican sharpshooter until 1812, and subsequently employed as a courier at the Grand general headquarters. He had followed the Emperor to Elba and to Saint Helena. At Longwood he occasionally asked for a day off, "to go shooting." But his sport was soon stopped when it became known that his quarry was "that monster, the governor." Napoleon said, with a laugh: "We Corsicans are all like that!"

At Longwood, the Emperor usually arose early, breakfasted alone at eleven, dressed for the day about two, and dined at various hours from three to seven. Soon after his arrival he abandoned his familiar green uniform, and generally wore a hunting coat; but he retained the three-cornered hat, although he removed the cockade.

From his youth, Napoleon had always been a great reader, and the keenest pleasure of his life at Saint Helena was the arrival of a new box of books. In dictating his memoirs he had need of a number of books of reference, which he ordered from London. They were furnished him by the English Government, which demanded in payment the exorbitant sum of seven thousand pounds. He directed Bertrand not to pay the bill until he received an itemized statement, which was never furnished. So, on his death, the volumes were seized by Lowe, and sold in London for some fourteen hundred pounds. As the books were covered with notes in Napoleon's handwriting, this priceless collection should have been preserved in the British Museum.

Referring to England's treatment of Napoleon, Lord Rosebery writes: "Were it possible, we would ignore all this literature, as it is peculiarly painful for an Englishman to read. He must regret that his government ever undertook the custody of Napoleon, and he must regret still more that the duty should

have been discharged in a spirit so ignoble and through agents so unfortunate." [9]

The sole claim of Sir Hudson Lowe to a place in the Hall of Fame is that he was entrusted with the unpleasant task of being the Emperor's guardian at Saint Helena. He was an Irishman, only a few days older than Napoleon. He is thus described by an unfriendly critic: "A lean, middle-aged man, . . . red-haired, freckled, with a large brown patch on the cheek; his throat is stringy; he has pale golden eyebrows shading eyes which can look no one in the face; he is clad in a British uniform — such is the governor of the prison." [10]

He was a narrow-minded, ignorant man, without a vestige of tact or human sympathy — in no sense of the word a gentleman. Although his intentions may have been good, he was in every way unfitted for the task. Even the Duke of Wellington says: "Lowe was a very bad choice; he was a man wanting in education and judgment." At the end of their first interview Napoleon exclaimed: "Execrable! A real hang-dog face. He glared at me with the eye of a hyena caught in a trap. Perhaps he is my executioner! "

After half a dozen interviews — all in the first six months of Lowe's term of office — the Emperor refused to see him, and they never met again.

The principal grievances of which Napoleon complained may be grouped under four heads: *title, finance, custody,* and *medical attendance.*

England had always refused to recognize Napoleon as Emperor of the French, and from the first moment of his captivity had uniformly designated him as *General Buonaparte.* The beginning of Napoleon's profound aversion for Lowe was when the governor, soon after his arrival, invited the Emperor to dinner, and addressed him as instructed by the English Government. It is not easy to understand why Napoleon should have regarded this as an affront. During the traverse from Rochefort, he himself had proposed, if allowed to reside incognito in

[9] Rosebery, *Napoleon, the Last Phase,* 63. [10] Ludwig, *Napoleon,* 614.

England, to assume the name of one of his aides de camp, Colonel Muiron. Why should he have objected so strongly to the glorious appellation of General Buonaparte, even with the Italian form of spelling? The explanation of Monsieur Masson carries but little weight. He writes:

"There is not here, as has been said, 'a puerile affectation'; there is, on the one hand, the concern for his dignity; on the other, the concern for his heredity; there is the revendication of the right of the Nation; there is the affirmation of the rights of his son." [11]

The household of Napoleon comprised fifty-one persons, of whom nine only, including four children, formed the suite of the Emperor, the others being servants. At the time of Lowe's arrival, the expense of maintaining this large household ran to approximately £15,000 a year. Under instructions from Lord Bathurst, the governor reduced the annual allowance to £8000.

In making this move, the Government had two objects in view: first, to save money by forcing Napoleon to send away a part of his followers; and second, in case he offered to bear part of the expenses himself, to ascertain where he kept his secret hoards of money, so that they could lay hands on them.

At this time, Napoleon had four reserve funds: (1) 250,000 francs in gold, which he had succeeded in bringing to the island, concealed in eight belts worn by his companions; (2) about six millions, to his credit at Paris in the bank of Laffitte; (3) nearly a million and a half, confided principally to Eugène and Lavalette; (4) a large, but unknown amount, handed Joseph before his departure in 1815.

As they had anticipated, Napoleon refused to part with any of his companions, and offered to make up the deficit out of his own resources. But he was too shrewd to be caught in the trap set for him: he refused to send to Europe for money unless he was assured that his letter would not be opened. This assurance, the governor would not give. Therefore, the Emperor ordered part of his silver broken up and sold. This was

[11] Masson, *Op. cit.*, 295.

only a gesture, for he did not need to sell a single piece, and the amount realized, about 25,000 francs, would not cover the deficit for two months. However, Napoleon gained his point, which was to show up the meanness of the English Government. As soon as known, the news made a great impression in Europe. The appropriation for his expenses was increased by the Government from £8000 to £12,000, and he was promised that his communication with Europe would not be opened. Then Napoleon wrote Eugène, who had 800,000 francs in his possession, and he placed sufficient funds with a London banker to enable the grand marshal, beginning with the month of April 1818, to draw 10,000 francs a month. So ended this comedy!

The subject of custody, in its relation to the health of the captive, was by far the most serious of all. The precautions taken to prevent Napoleon's escape would have been ludicrous if their effect had not been so grave. The plateau of Longwood is entirely shut off from the rest of the island by a deep chasm, except at one point, where it is approached by a narrow tongue of land, not more than twenty feet wide. This pathway was guarded by a regiment of soldiers and a battery of artillery. At night there was a chain of sentries around Longwood only fifty paces apart. Two brigs-of-war patrolled around the island night and day, and frigates guarded the only two landing places. Surely, under these circumstances, the Emperor might have been permitted to ride over the barren tableland without having a British officer constantly at his elbow.[12]

At Saint Helena, Napoleon had ten horses, four for the carriages and six for riding, all of which had been brought from the Cape, except two saddle-horses from the Imperial stables. One of the latter, named Vizir, had been presented to the Emperor by the Sultan in 1808.[13]

For the service of the Emperor, Admiral Cockburn had purchased at the Cape a calèche, the only one on the island. Later,

[12] For the details of a plot to rescue Napoleon, see Appendix P.

[13] He survived the death of Napoleon, was taken later to England, and his stuffed skin is to-day in the Musée de l'Armée at Paris.

Napoleon himself procured several small carriages. Besides the two Archambaults, his regular coachmen, the Emperor had six sailors from the *Northumberland,* dressed in the Imperial liveries, who soon became quite experienced drivers.

At first, Napoleon had the privilege of riding or driving over the plateau, within a radius of four miles from Longwood, but these limits were later greatly reduced, principally through his own fault. One day, in a spirit of *espièglerie,* he gave the English officer the slip, rode across country with Gourgaud, and burst into a private plantation, saying to the owner: " Don't let any one know that we have been here! " Then he returned quietly home, while the whole garrison was being called to arms to search for him.

For thirty years, Napoleon had been in the habit of riding, on the average, twenty miles a day, and this exercise was absolutely necessary to keep him in good health. After a spell of sedentary life he would start off on a ride of seven days, or would hunt from morning to night in the woods around Paris. Now he rebelled against the restrictions placed upon him, because, as he said, " I refuse to do anything which involves the acknowledgement that I am a prisoner." After the first year, he kept entirely within bounds, and in fact rarely left the grounds of Longwood. The result was disastrous to his health. The climate alone would have brought premature death, but lack of exercise undoubtedly hastened his end.

" There is little doubt," writes Dr. Cabanès, " that Napoleon arrived at Saint Helena in a fair state of health; his physical constitution up to that time had never been seriously shaken. . . . For a long time he had never felt fatigue; before becoming obese his activity knew no limits. It required a depressing climate, moral tortures, an inaction succeeding boundless activity, to develop, if not create, a pathological condition of which he carried within him the germ, but of which the evolution could have been long retarded." [14]

There were no manifestations of the malady of Napoleon until the final months of 1817, two years after his arrival on the

[14] Cabanès, *Op. cit.,* 315–316.

island. At that time we begin to find references to his ill-health in the writings of O'Meara, Gourgaud, and Montholon.[15] He suffered from an inflammation of his gums; also from rheumatic pains and swellings in his legs. He complained of insomnia, and a general feeling of debility. From that time on, he fell by degrees into a state of complete apathy. He no longer worked on his memoirs, and passed his days in idleness. It was even an exertion to shave himself, and for the first time in his life he occasionally let his beard grow for two or three days.

Under date of the first of November, Montholon records that Napoleon said: "I shall await death with resignation; I shall receive it as the end of a horrible suffering." On the 17th of the same month, he finally consented to let O'Meara pull a tooth which had been troubling him. It was the first operation to which he had submitted since his birth.

The year 1818 opened under sad auspices. O'Meara had incurred the ill-will of the governor, and was threatened with deportation. The bulletins of the months of May and June, signed by O'Meara, reveal the progress of the hepatitis (inflammation of the liver), which he had been the first to recognize, and against which he had prescribed an energetic treatment.

Several times, O'Meara suggested a consultation of the best physicians, both of the Army and of the Navy, stationed at the island. He submitted four names for the choice of the invalid: the doctors Baxter, Stokoe, Livingstone, and Verling. The Emperor refused to see Baxter, who had been the surgeon-major of Lowe's old regiment; but he consented to receive Stokoe, who was sent for. This physician confirmed the diagnosis of O'Meara, and approved of his treatment.

When the governor learned of these facts, he at once ordered O'Meara to leave the island. Napoleon protested vigorously, but in vain, against this ukase, which deprived him of the services of his regular physician.

[15] The narrative of Gourgaud ends with his departure from Longwood in February 1818; and that of O'Meara when he left the following July. Only fragments of O'Meara's journal have been published, in an American magazine (*The Century*).

From the time of the departure of O'Meara, the last of July 1818, up to the first of January 1819, the Emperor had no regular medical treatment. He still refused to accept Baxter, which Lowe declared was proof that his illness was simulated, and he feared to have the fraud revealed!

The governor finally designated Verling, who was the best choice possible. He was not only the ablest medical man on the island, but he was a gentleman in every sense of the word. He spoke fluently both French and Italian, which should have made him even more satisfactory to the Emperor.

In December, Napoleon had not yet consented to receive Verling, but he sent word that the reasons were not personal, as he held the doctor in high esteem.

On the 16 January 1819, the Emperor had an attack of vertigo and lost consciousness. After a hurried consultation between Bertrand and Montholon, it was decided to call in Dr. Stokoe, who was at once summoned. But the doctor could not leave his post on the *Conqueror* without an order from the admiral to his captain. After some delay this was issued, and he arrived at Longwood at daybreak on the 17th. Napoleon was much better, and was then sleeping. After a conversation with Montholon, Stokoe agreed to take the place vacated by O'Meara; and the Emperor, on awakening, dictated an agreement, to be signed by the doctor.[16] The most essential provision was that, aside from the regular weekly bulletin of the health of the Emperor, to be sent to the governor, he was not to give any one an account of what he saw or heard at Longwood. This document, dated and signed at Longwood the 17 January 1819, was subject to the approval of Stokoe's chief, Rear-Admiral Plampin.

Stokoe then saw Napoleon, and confirmed once more the diagnosis of O'Meara. He drew up, in all, four weekly bulletins, in one of which he stated that the malady was due to the climate, and was aggravated by the moral tortures experienced by the Emperor. This was a veritable act of accusation against the English authorities, and unpardonable. He was ordered

[16] See Appendix Q.

before a court-martial and formally condemned to have his name stricken from the rolls of the Navy. He was sent back to England, where he was granted a pension of a hundred pounds a year. But he was consoled by a handsome gift from the Emperor, as well as by a pension assured him by Madame Mère and other members of the family.

From the 10 March 1819, until the arrival of Antommarchi on the 20 September, the Emperor was once more without medical care. The commissioners of Austria and Russia protested very strongly to the governor, saying that, if Napoleon died, they did not know what reply they could make in Europe to the charge that he had been assassinated.

On the 19 August, the governor, having heard that Napoleon "said that he was ill," sent Verling, whom Napoleon refused to receive except under the conditions laid down for Stokoe. Verling would not accept, unless the terms were approved by the governor. Thereupon Lowe sent Dr. Arnott, "as the military physician of the highest grade on the island." The memorandum drawn up for Stokoe was read to him, and he, too, refused to sign without the approval of the governor. So the Emperor was left without any care until the arrival of the incompetent Antommarchi.

In March 1818, Napoleon had asked for a priest and a physician, and the authorization was given in August; but they did not leave Europe until February 1819, or reach Saint Helena until the 20 September 1819. The priests were two in number — an old man, who was almost speechless from apoplexy, and a young one, who was ignorant, but devout and loyal.

Despite all the assertions to the contrary, Napoleon was a man of religious belief: he had a pronounced horror of atheism. He had been born and brought up, and he died, in the faith of the Roman Catholic Church.[17]

The two abbés brought a trunk containing church ornaments and sacerdotal robes "of very great beauty." Napoleon, who

[17] His testament begins with the words: *Je meurs dans la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine, dans le sein de laquelle je suis né, il y a plus de cinquante ans.*

now took his meals in the salon, decided to convert the dining-room permanently into a chapel, and here he heard Mass regularly every Sunday morning, until he was too ill to leave his bed; then he listened to the service through the opened door of his bedroom.

If we did not have the best of authority for the statement, it would be difficult to believe that, in the choice of a physician for her son, Madame Mère allowed her terrible avarice to overcome her usual good judgment. Aside from the fact that he was a Corsican, the chief recommendation of Antommarchi was that he offered to take the position at a salary of 9000 francs a year, whereas O'Meara had received 12,000, and Foureau, a very able physician, demanded 15,000.[18]

Antommarchi, who assumed the title of "professor of anatomy," had been in reality only "the preparer of dissections in the amphitheatre of Florence." He was a common, ignorant, brutal man, with "more talent for intrigue than medical knowledge"; but he possessed great self-assurance, "and for this reason gave the general impression of being more capable than he really was."[19]

On his arrival at Saint Helena, Antommarchi was warmly welcomed by Lowe, who invited him to dinner, and succeeded in convincing the young doctor, before he saw his illustrious patient, that the Emperor was not really ill, but was playing a farce for political ends. This first impression, Antommarchi could never get out of his foolish head.

For several months after the arrival of the new physician, the progress of Napoleon's malady seemed to be arrested, and up to the month of March 1820 the bulletins were quite optimistic. It was the fine season at Saint Helena, and Napoleon worked daily in his garden, clad in a costume of nankeen, shod with red slippers, and wearing a broad-brimmed straw hat.

The first positive indication of the malady to which Napoleon was to succumb was noted in the month of August 1820. "For several days past," writes Montholon, "the Emperor has been

[18] See Cabanès, *Op. cit.*, 353.

[19] See Masson, 13 *Napoléon et sa famille,* 165.

very ill and has not worked: he has rarely left his sofa. It is always his *coup de canif* [knife-thrust] of which he complains." This feeling, in the location indicated by the Emperor, says Dr. Marcel Baudouin, "is one of the pains characteristic of chronic lesions of the stomach." [20]

The Emperor had announced that he would receive the members of his little Court on New Year's day 1821, but he found himself too weak to see any one but the grand marshal. From that time on his malady made rapid progress. On the first day of March Dr. Arnott called, but was not received. A month later he came again, and had his first interview with the Emperor. It was ten o'clock at night, and he could do no more than make a superficial examination. From that date, Arnott came every day.

The Emperor liked to question Arnott, and demanded information upon many points of anatomy, such as: "How many holes are there in the stomach?" . . . "By what names are they called?" At the end he said: "I am dying of the same malady as my father — a cancer of the pylorus." This diagnosis, as shown by the autopsy, was absolutely correct. But, to the end, the ignorant Antommarchi continued to treat the Emperor for liver trouble, and gave him remedies which were simply torture to a man in his condition.

During the month of April Napoleon was occupied with his testament, of which he laboriously made two copies with his own hand. On the 28th, he dictated to Montholon a letter to be sent the governor, after his death. Of all the many thousands of letters dictated by Napoleon this is perhaps the most remarkable:

"Monsieur le Gouverneur — The Emperor Napoleon died on the . . . , after a long and painful illness. I have the honor to inform you of the fact. . . . Please let me know what arrangements your Government has made for the conveyance of his body to Europe; also regarding the members of his suite."

[20] *Gazette médicale de Paris*, 1901.

LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON

On the evening of the 4 May, Napoleon became delirious. During the night he uttered his last articulated words: *France! . . . Armée! . . . Joséphine!*

On Saturday evening, the 5 May 1821, at five o'clock and forty-nine minutes, the soul of Napoleon took flight.

The Emperor at last was at rest!

CHAPTER SEVENTY

MAY 1821 — DECEMBER 1840

AFTER THE CURTAIN

The Autopsy on Napoleon — His Height — The *Chapelle Ardente* — The Grave — The Death Mask — The Funeral — The Testament — The Principal Legacies — Hortense's Necklace — The Later Codicils — The Duc d'Enghien — The Deposit with Eugène — The Treasure at Malmaison — Napoleon's Estimates of His Family — His Father and Mother — His Uncle — Joseph and Lucien — Partiality for Jérôme — His Condemnation of Louis — Also of Hortense — Praise of Eugène — Élisa and Pauline — Caroline and Murat — Napoleon Admits His Mistakes — His Hard Task — What the Family Cost France — The Bonaparte Heritage — Their Physical Characteristics — Extinction of the Family — Revolution of 1830 — The Government Arranges for the Return of Napoleon's Remains — The Expedition to Saint Helena — The Ceremonies at Paris — The Tomb of the Emperor

AT SEVEN o'clock, on the morning following Napoleon's death, Sir Hudson Lowe appeared at Longwood, accompanied by a large suite: all the members of his staff, the admiral, the commanding general, the French commissioner, and so on. For the first time, contrary to orders, he ventured to refer to Napoleon as the Emperor, and not as the *General*. To his companions, he said: "He was the greatest enemy of England, and of myself, but I pardon him all!" Nothing could better reveal the character of the man, than this speech.

At two o'clock that afternoon the autopsy was performed, by Antommarchi and five English surgeons, in the presence of Bertrand, Montholon, Marchand, and several officers of the governor's staff. As the full report of the operation has frequently been published, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here. It showed that Napoleon, like his father, had died of a cancer of the stomach.[1]

[1] See Cabanès, *Op. cit.*, 5 *et seq.*; 391 *et seq.*

After the autopsy, Antommarchi, aided by Marchand, took very careful measurements of the body of the Emperor, the only ones that we have. His height was found to be exactly 5 feet, 2 inches, 4 lines (French), or about 5 feet, 6½ inches, English scale. This dispels the generally accepted legend that Napoleon was a small man. In fact, he was above the medium height for a man of the Latin races.[2]

After this, the Emperor was dressed in his usual uniform of the chasseurs of his Guard: white silk stockings, riding boots, vest and breeches of white kerseymere, hat with the tricolored cockade, green coat with red facings, bearing the insignias of the Légion d'honneur, the Couronne de fer, and the Réunion, the plaque and the grand cordon of the Légion.

Thus clothed, the body of the Emperor was borne to his former bedroom, transformed into a *chapelle ardente,* and placed upon one of his camp beds, over which had been spread the celebrated blue cloak that he wore at Marengo. An altar had been erected at the head of the bed. Upon a small table nearby were placed the silver urns containing his heart and stomach.

The doors were then opened, and all of the officers marched past, followed by the soldiers and sailors. "Take a good look at Napoleon," said one of the soldiers to his little boy, "he was the greatest man in the world!" Such was the voice of the people.

At five o'clock, a letter was received from the governor, in reply to the communication from Montholon, announcing the death of the Emperor. Lowe said that he had orders from the government not to allow the remains of General Buonaparte to be taken from Saint Helena; but he was indifferent regarding the place of interment on the island.

Anticipating this decision, Napoleon himself had selected the spot for his grave. During the first days of his stay at Long-

[2] See 2 Antommarchi, 158; also Lévy, 514, where it is pointed out that these measurements are proved to be correct by the length of the famous gray redingote, preserved in the museum of the Invalides, which could not have been worn by a small man, as it is over 49 inches long.

wood, he had visited a little valley, and found there a small plateau from which there was a view of the sea. Beside a fresh spring, there were three willow trees, which shaded the plot. He said to Bertrand: " After my death, if my body remains in the hands of my enemies, you will place it here."

The governor had opposed the embalmment of the body; and he also refused to allow the heart to be sent to Europe, so it was placed in the coffin. The followers of the Emperor wished to inscribe upon the tomb simply NAPOLEON, with two dates. Lowe insisted upon adding BUONAPARTE. Therefore, the inscription was omitted.

With great difficulty the necessary plaster to make a death mask had been secretly secured in the town, and the task was done by Antommarchi. The head had previously been shaved, and the hairs were carefully preserved for the family, as directed by the Emperor in his testament.

The body of the Emperor was enclosed in four coffins: the first of tin plate, the second of mahogany, the third of lead, and the fourth of mahogany. The two metal coffins were carefully soldered, so as to be air-tight. The first one, besides the remains, contained the two silver urns, and a dozen gold and silver coins, both of France and Italy, stamped with the effigy of the Emperor.

The tomb, sunk in the earth, was eleven feet, by ten, by eight, in dimension, of solid masonry, covered with a heavy stone slab, which was carefully cemented into place.

The funeral took place on the 9 May, and Napoleon was buried with all the honors accorded to an officer of the highest rank in the British Army. The ceremony was attended by all the household of the Emperor and the officers of the garrison. The troops, two thousand in number, lined the route; the bands played funeral airs; the vessels and the forts fired minute-guns. At the grave, one of the French priests said the prayers and gave the benediction.

On the 27 May, the companions of Napoleon all sailed for Europe. The news of his death had been sent to the King of

England by a fast ship three weeks before. An English sentinel was posted at the grave, and one was kept there night and day until the remains were removed to France. Longwood reverted to its original use, as a cow-stable, and the new mansion, which Napoleon had never occupied, was pointed out to visitors as his residence.

The testament of Napoleon, almost entirely written in his own hand, fills many printed pages.[3] There were two copies, both signed by him, so that the duplicate would have the same value as the original. The original was given to his executors, Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand; the duplicate was entrusted to the Abbé Vignali, under the seal of the confessional, for greater security.

The testament, properly speaking, and the first codicil, dispose of the sums of which he was certain: the money that he had at Saint Helena, and his deposit with Laffitte at Paris. The 300,000 francs he had on hand was divided among his faithful servants. From the six millions to his credit at Paris, he gave two millions to Montholon, half a million to Bertrand, and nearly the same amount to Marchand, of whom he says: "The services he has rendered me were those of a friend." Large sums, generally 100,000 francs, were left to various officers who had been closely associated with him, to his secretaries, to two authors, and to the surgeons Larrey, Percy, and Emery. The latter, it will be remembered, had been of great assistance to him on his return from Elba. Of Larrey, Napoleon adds: "He is the most virtuous man I have ever known."

These bequests practically exhausted the funds of which he was sure that he could dispose. As will appear later, he had already overdrawn his deposit of 800,000 francs with Eugène; and the large, but unknown, amount in the hands of Joseph was doubtless held in reserve for dynastic purposes.

To Marchand, Napoleon also gave the necklace of Hortense and this caused a great deal of trouble in the final settlement of his estate. At Malmaison, the Emperor had hesitated to

[3] See Appendix R.

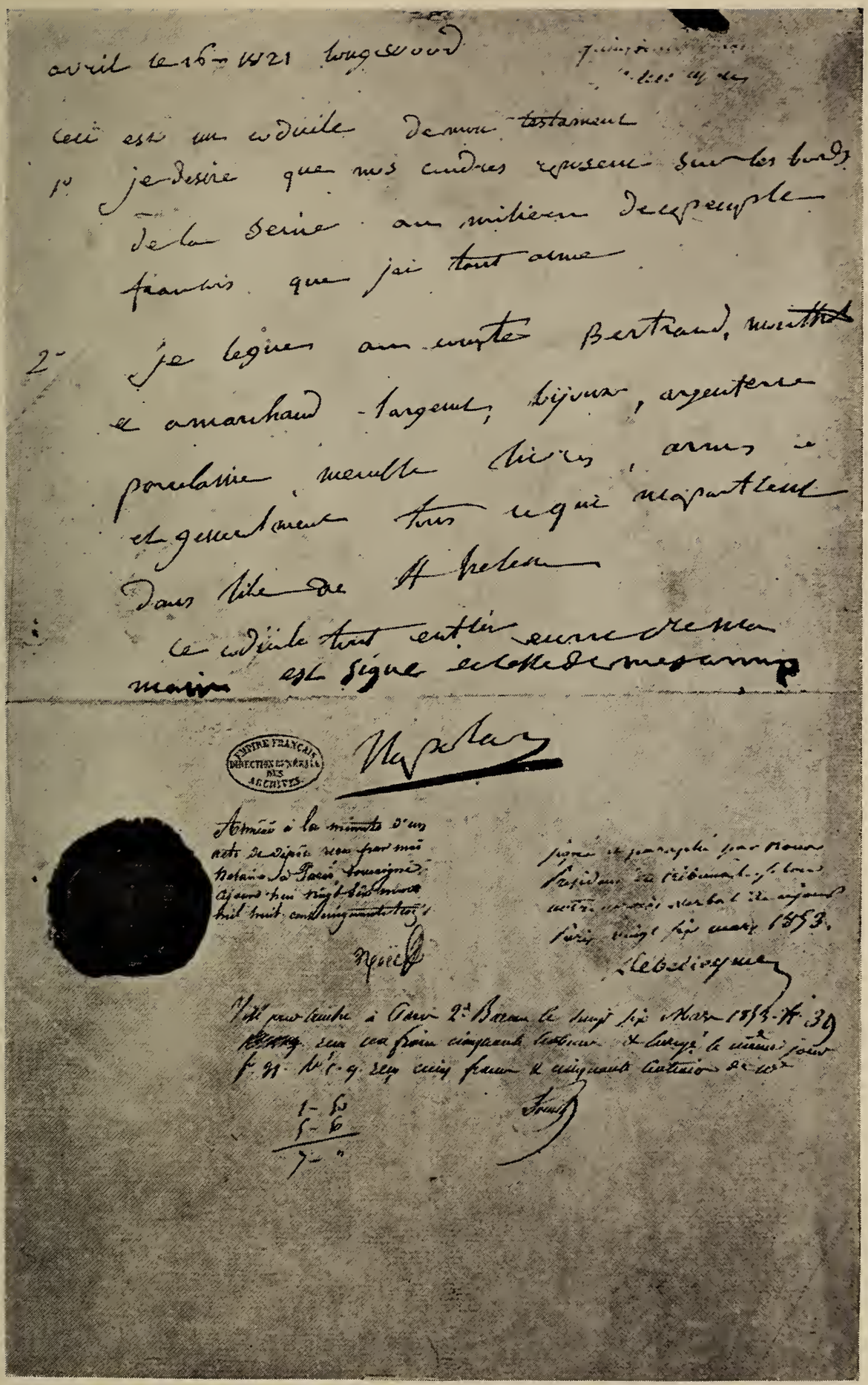
receive this handsome gift from his stepdaughter, and had finally consented only on condition of giving Hortense a note for 200,000 francs, on three months' time. She considered the collier as a gift to the Emperor, but after his death she had the note paid by Laffitte. As this transaction with Hortense was not mentioned by Napoleon among the instructions in his will, his executors, Montholon and Bertrand, refused to recognize the payment made to the Queen as the quittance of a legitimate debt, and demanded the repayment of the sum. Hortense replied in a letter, noble both in form and sentiment, that the collier was intended as a free gift to the Emperor, and she had no right to be reimbursed for it. She therefore gave up a large sum which she had a perfect right to keep.[4]

The testament proper, and the first codicil, were dated the 15 April. By an annexed codicil Napoleon disposed of two hundred millions of his private domain, for the benefit of "the living officers of the French army who, from 1792 to 1815, fought for the glory and the independence of the Nation." This was only political propaganda, as the Emperor well knew that the Bourbons would never give up what they had seized.

In codicils of later date, Napoleon disposed of other capital which was even more uncertain, such as the two millions which his "very dear and well-beloved spouse," Marie-Louise, had stolen from him at Orléans in 1814, and given to her father; also the two millions which he claimed rested in the hands of Eugène after the liquidation of his Italian Civil List.

On the 22 April, he demanded of Marchand his boxes and tabatières, for the purpose of making an inventory. For Lady Holland, he laid aside a box, ornamented with a very handsome cameo, presented to him by Pope Pius the Sixth after the treaty

[4] The matter of the necklace was finally submitted to arbitration, and the judgment was as follows: Insomuch as the note for 200,000 francs was given in exchange for a collier which has recently been appraised as worth only 80,000 francs, the said collier shall be returned to the Duchesse in exchange for the said note, as soon as the executors are in a position to pay 80,000 francs to Marchand, to whom the collier was donated by the Emperor at Saint Helena. (See 3 Hortense, 37, and note; also Masson, *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène,* 467, and 13 *Napoléon et sa famille,* 256–258.)



FACSIMILE OF NAPOLEON'S WILL

of Tolentino. With his own hand, he wrote on a card: *Napoléon à Lady Holland; témoignage d'estime et d'affection.* He selected another box to be given to Dr. Arnott, with 12,000 francs in gold. Upon this box, which was of gold, he roughly traced an *N* with the point of a pair of scissors. This autograph initial, the doctor valued more highly than the finest inscription of the jeweller's art.

About ten days before his death, feeling a little better, Napoleon asked to have the latest papers read aloud to him. He became greatly excited over an attack in one of them, and called for his will. Breaking the seals which he had so laboriously affixed, he wrote with a trembling hand:

"I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and judged, because it was necessary for the safety, the interest, and the honor of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois, by his own confession, was supporting sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I should act in the same way again." [5]

In his treatment of Eugène, Napoleon was as inconsiderate as he had been in the case of Hortense. He made repeated drafts upon the funds in the hands of his stepson, without keeping any account of the amounts. As we have already seen, he requested Eugène, beginning the first of April 1818, to remit him through a London bank the sum of 10,000 francs a month. He had Bertrand write him, on the 15 March 1818, to pay Las Cases 100,000 francs. In another letter, Eugène was directed to pay the mother of Gourgaud an annual pension of 12,000 francs. In January 1818 he gave Dr. O'Meara an order for £4000, and the following January he delivered an order for £1000 to Dr. Stokoe. In all, up to the time of his death, Napoleon drew upon Eugène for a sum about 13,000 francs in excess of the amount in his hands.

By a codicil to his will, under date of the 24 April, Napoleon left to "his most faithful servants" two millions deposited with the Viceroy, derived from "the liquidation of his Italian Civil List." Furthermore, in Article 12 of his Instructions to his

[5] See Vol. I, page 168.

executors, Napoleon said: "Aside from all my books, I left in a hiding place at Malmaison two millions in gold and gems, of which no special donation was ever made to the Empress Joséphine. I desire that this sum shall never be reclaimed except so far as may be necessary to complete my legacies."

No trace of this treasure was found after the death of Joséphine; and if it ever existed, it was probably dissipated by her, like so many other sums. Napoleon certainly had no right to reclaim it, and it wounded both Eugène and Hortense to have him attempt to dispose of the fortune of their mother as though it were his own. Eugène made no attempt to conceal his indignation, and he took a firm stand upon his legal rights. All of the efforts of Montholon to enforce these visionary claims against Eugène and his heirs were vain. In fact, the marvellous memory of Napoleon had begun to fail, after the middle of April, and his mind was far from clear when he made these additions to his testament.

Except in his last will, and in his instructions to his executors, Napoleon neither wrote nor dictated at Saint Helena anything with reference to the members of his family. But in his familiar talks, as reported by Las Cases and Gourgaud especially, he often spoke of them, and generally in most affectionate terms. The record of O'Meara contains but few references to the Family, and the memoirs of Montholon and of Antommarchi are absolutely unreliable.[6]

Of his father, Napoleon rarely spoke, and the little that he said was generally inexact. He was only a child when he left Corsica for Brienne, and his father died before he left the military school at Paris. Therefore, Napoleon hardly knew him, except by report. He could take no pride in his father's career, and wished to leave his name in obscurity. When the people of Montpellier, where Charles died, proposed to erect a monument to his memory, Napoleon wrote: "Do not trouble the repose of

[6] The work of the Corsican anatomist, published under his name in 1825, was probably compiled by the celebrated romancer Alexandre Dumas — based upon notes furnished by the doctor. (See 13 Masson, 176, note.)

the dead; leave their ashes tranquil." On several occasions he blamed Louis for having transported the remains of their father to Saint-Leu for burial there.

On the other hand, he always displayed the greatest admiration and respect for his mother. "My excellent mother," he said, "is a woman full of courage and talent; she is endowed with a masculine character, proud and noble. . . . I owe my fortune principally to the manner in which she brought me up." In a moment of frankness, he admitted that his mother was miserly, or rather "too parsimonious." Then he began to apologize for her: "It is fair to say that she secretly gave much to her children — she is such a good mother! Besides, this same woman, from whom one would have found it so difficult to extract an *écu,* gave me her all for my return from Elba; and, after Waterloo, she placed in my hands everything that she possessed to aid me to reëstablish my affairs."

He begins his testament with a reference to his "good and most excellent mother." He orders for her a bracelet made of his hair, with a little gold padlock. He also gives her his silver night-light, and the busts and pictures in his bedroom.

It would seem impossible for him to have shown more affection and greater tenderness. He treats her as the head of the Family. To her he entrusts the distribution, among the brothers and sisters, the nephews and nieces, of the little souvenirs which he destines for them. He shows always that he considers her the *maîtresse femme.*

For Fesch, the Emperor had neither affection nor esteem, and it is certain that the cardinal secretly detested his famous nephew, to whom he owed everything. "But," writes M. Masson, "this 'maîtresse femme' is the slave of her brother; she yields everything to him; to him she abandons the direction of all, so that, since 1815, this *Bâlois mâtiné de Corse*[7] has been the real chief of the Bonaparte family." Nevertheless, in his will, Napoleon treats Fesch in the same manner as those members of the Family who are in his good graces. He leaves the cardinal a medallion of his hair, and a small toilet-set.

[7] Swiss-Corsican, of mixed blood. Bâlois means literally a native of Bâle.

Napoleon's estimate of Joseph was far from flattering. He states over and over again that his eldest brother was an "imbecile"; that he was lazy; that he was ignorant of military affairs; that he himself "made a great mistake in placing this imbecile of Joseph on the throne of Spain." Again he says: "King Louis the Sixteenth had intelligence, but he was lacking in vigor; it was the same with my brother Joseph." In conclusion he states: "My brothers did me much harm. . . . Joseph was of little assistance to me; but he is a very good man, and his wife, Julie, is the best creature who ever existed."

Nevertheless, Napoleon says that he has always been fond of Joseph, and he thinks that his brother loves him sincerely. "I do not doubt that he would do everything in the world for me; but all his qualities are essentially those of a private citizen: he is eminently kind and good." And he adds that, "in the high functions which he had entrusted to him, Joseph had done his best; his intentions were good; and it was his own fault that he had given Joseph responsibilities beyond his powers."

Napoleon had shown his confidence in Joseph by confiding to him the letters from the sovereigns; also a very large sum of money, of which the exact amount has never been revealed.

In the establishment of his daughters, Joseph complied with the expressed wishes of his brother. He arranged a marriage between Zénaïde and Charles, the eldest son of Lucien; also, between his second daughter, Charlotte, and another nephew, Napoleon-Louis, the elder son of Louis.

Napoleon paid Lucien a high compliment in saying that he would have been the "ornament of any political assembly." But the Emperor had not forgotten Lucien's "stormy youth"; nor his unfortunate second marriage; nor the "false direction of his character."

Like his mother, and all the other members of the Family, Napoleon did not approve of the marriage arranged by Lucien for his eldest daughter, Christine, with the Swedish comte, Arved Posse.

The Emperor ridiculed Lucien's literary pretensions. In

speaking of *Charlemagne,* he said that Lucien "had made a history in verse, and not an epic poem." He regrets that his brother had not written a "good history of Italy," which would have been "a real gift to the literary world, and have made him immortal." But Napoleon had altogether too high an opinion of his brother's talents as a historian. Lucien's volume of memoirs, and his two brochures, upon the 18 Brumaire, and the Hundred Days, all prove that he was not capable of writing history.

It was as an orator in the Jacobin clubs that Lucien achieved his greatest success: on this field of combat he was really a past-master. It was with this in mind that the Emperor called him to Paris in the spring of 1815; but at Saint Helena he frankly admitted: "I was mistaken when I thought that he could be useful to me: he rallied no one to my cause."

When Napoleon wrote his testament at Saint Helena, he was ignorant of the fact that Lucien, in order to obtain his liberty from the citadel of Turin, had solemnly protested that he had never been a French prince; that neither he nor his children belonged to the Imperial Family; and that he was only a Roman prince, *il principe di Canino.* Therefore the Emperor designated him in his testament as the *Prince* Lucien. He blamed Lucien for the Swedish marriage; but in other respects he treated the Prince of Canino the same as Joseph and Jérôme.

To the end, Napoleon showed the same blind partiality for the absolutely worthless Jérôme. At Saint Helena he remarked: "In becoming more mature, Jérôme would have been fit to rule: I discovered in him veritable hopes." Such words indicate an incurable weakness: they prove that, in the case of those he loved, Napoleon forgot all and learned nothing.

In his testament, Napoleon treated Jérôme exactly the same as his brothers Joseph and Lucien. He left him a medallion of his hair, and the hilt of an antique sabre. He made Catherine no legacy, but he named her in his will, and thanked her.

Louis was the only member of the Family who was not included in the general amnesty. In his testament Napoleon

uses this crushing phrase: "I pardon Louis the libel which he published in 1820; it is full of false statements and forged documents."

This work of Louis, on Holland, had been received by Napoleon in the final days of his illness, and it profoundly wounded him. In his earlier references to Louis, the Emperor had been more lenient. He frankly admitted that he had prevented the marriage of Louis and Émilie de Beauharnais because she was the daughter of an émigré. He also confessed that the marriage of Louis and Hortense "was the result of the intrigues of Joséphine," from which he himself was not entirely free from blame. He thought, however, that they were in love with each other at the time of their marriage. He spoke of the cruel malady of Louis, its effect upon his mind and body, and thought that this would explain many of his actions.

He said that Hortense, who was "so good, so generous, so devoted, was not free from blame" in her treatment of Louis. He condemned Hortense for her acceptance of a title from the King, and declared that Louis was fully justified in reclaiming his son. The Emperor thus approved of the judgment of the Tribunal of the Seine in 1815, which is rather remarkable when we consider that he himself had suspended the execution of the decree, and that he had previously confided to Hortense the guardianship of her son.

Of Eugène, the Emperor spoke always with great kindness. He praised the manner in which the Viceroy had brought back the remnants of the Grand Army from Russia, and lauded his administration of Italy. He excused Eugène's call on Louis the Eighteenth, and his course during the Hundred Days. He referred to him often as a *tête carrée, une vraie tête carrée,* and then went on to explain that he did not use the term in its ordinary significance, of an obstinate man: "I mean by that," he said, "that he has judgment, good qualities, but not that genius, that firm character which distinguish great men."

There never had been much sympathy between Napoleon and his eldest sister, and the name of Élisa appears only once in his

talks at Saint Helena. "My sister Élisa," he said, "had a masculine head, a strong soul; she will have displayed much philosophy in adversity." This remark proves that Napoleon thoroughly understood his sister's character. As Élisa died in 1820, Napoleon did not mention her in his will, and he left no particular legacy to her daughter or her son.

All of Napoleon's affections were centred in Pauline, who had always worshipped him, more as a god than as a man. He called her *la déesse des caprices,* but no member of his family was so dear to him. His regard for her is particularly shown in his testament. He names her first after his brothers; thanks her for her interest; and gives her, besides the hair-bracelet, his "little cabinet of coins." He did not forget the little farm-house, San Martino, at Elba, purchased with the proceeds of his sister's diamonds, and directed that his executors should see that the property was returned to her.[8]

At Saint Helena, Napoleon seemed to have forgotten Caroline's part in the defection of Murat, and he spoke of her both with affection and with admiration. For a moment only he was disturbed by the report of her marriage to General Macdonald. When he made his last will, he knew that there was no truth in this rumor; he thanked Caroline for her interest, and made her the usual presents.

If the Emperor forgot and forgave the faults of his sister, he did not spare her husband. "Murat," he said "was incomparable on the field of battle, but elsewhere he made only foolish mistakes." Again, he said, "Murat ruined me twice over" — in 1814 and again in 1815. In conclusion, he stated: "It was all my own fault. I should have left him a marshal, and not have made him Duc de Berg — much less King of Naples. His head was turned."

If, at times, Napoleon indulged in criticisms of his family, almost at once the Spirit of the Clan reasserted itself, and he

[8] At her death, Pauline left this property to Jérôme, and it passed later to Prince Demidov, the husband of his daughter Mathilde, who established there a museum of Napoleonic relics.

ended by making excuses. That he was not blind to his own faults is clearly shown by this frank statement: [9]

"The world has often praised my force of character, but I was only a *poule mouillée* [chicken-hearted creature] — especially for my own kin; and they all knew it well. The first blow-up over, their perseverance, their obstinacy, always gained the day; and, tired of fighting, they got from me whatever they wanted. There I made a great mistake.

"I was not so fortunate as Gengis-Khan with his four sons who knew no other rivalry than to serve him well. I no sooner named a King than he at once believed that he was one *by the grace of God.* I no longer had a lieutenant upon whom I could count, but another enemy to consider. His efforts were not to second me, but to render himself independent. They all had the mania of believing themselves adored, preferred to me; from that moment, it was I who embarrassed them, who put them in peril. Legitimate monarchs would not have acted differently, they would not have believed themselves more securely anchored. Poor creatures, who, when I had succumbed, have been able to realize that they have not even had the honor of seeing their dethronements exacted or even mentioned by the enemy. . . ."

And he concludes with the sad words: *Tout le temps, j'ai porté le monde sur mes épaules, et le métier, après tout, ne laisse pas d'avoir sa fatigue.*

All his life long, Napoleon was dominated by the Spirit of the Clan. He loved his family; and to them he was the man of Providence — the protector, the saviour of all. But, with the sole exception of Pauline, they all treated him like a galley-slave, and he received from them only the basest ingratitude.

It would be interesting to know how much money this Corsican clan drew from the Treasury of France during the fifteen years that Napoleon was in supreme power. He himself had a Civil List of twenty-five millions; but, out of this sum, he saved

[9] 6 *Mémorial,* 196.

about half every year, besides making very munificent presents to his family and his friends.[10] At the time of his return from Russia in 1812, he had accumulated a cash reserve of two hundred millions, mainly from his economies; and he used nearly all of this sum for the benefit of the State during the two following campaigns.

It is not so easy to estimate the amounts drawn by his family, but they certainly averaged at least ten millions a year. For this large sum they rendered practically no services in return. It is true that five members of the family held nominal positions: Joseph, grand-elector; Louis, constable; Fesch, grand-almoner; Murat, grand-admiral; Eugène, archchancellor. But Jérôme held no office; nor did the six women: Madame, Joséphine, Élisa, Pauline, Caroline, and Hortense. Lucien was the only member of the family whose name was never inscribed on the *Grand Livre* of France.

Although the laws of heredity are not established in the most precise and definite fashion, they are certainly worthy of being taken into account. Napoleon himself was so convinced of their power that one of his principal preoccupations on his deathbed was to forearm his son against the disease of which he was sure that he was dying.

Both the father and the grandfather of Napoleon died of cancer at about the age of forty. His great-uncle Lucien, his brother Lucien, and two of his sisters (Pauline and Caroline) are said to have succumbed to the same malady. Including Napoleon himself, this makes seven cases of this dreaded disease in three generation of the same family.

"If the hereditary factor plays an undeniable rôle in the genesis of cancer," writes Dr. Cabanès, "it in no way follows

[10] In his memoirs, M. de Ségur writes: "Out of about twenty-five millions which formed his Civil List, thirteen to fourteen millions sufficed him annually. The rest was placed each year in a reserve fund." (3 *Mémoires*, 305.) To give one illustration only of his generosity: At Fontainebleau, in September 1807, the Emperor donated over five million francs to Berthier and nine other marshals, and at the same time distributed an equal amount among twenty-six generals. (See Corresp., 13177.)

that this heritage will be fatal; . . . at the most we have to admit that there is a heredity of predisposing circumstances." [11]

Napoleon belonged to a family of *arthritiques,* that is to say, of people afflicted with arthritism. In English, this word is defined as "a predisposition to rheumatic or gouty joint-affections." By French authorities, however, the word is used in a broader significance. Dr. Maurice de Fleury, in his excellent *Bréviaire de l'Arthritique* writes: "Arthritism is not a formal, definite malady, a morbid entity, like acute articular rheumatism, or pneumonia, it is a diathesis, a particular and troublesome mode of nutrition." Under the head of arthritism he classifies gout, diabetes, lithiasis, asthma, chronic rheumatism, eczema, and so on. There are, he says, two prominent types of arthritics: the thin, with little hair, or the head prematurely bald; and the fat, with premature obesity, ruddy complexion, and congested visage; the first, of nervous temperament, the second rather lymphatic. The two types were represented by Napoleon at different periods of his career.[12]

"In spite of the cancer which certain ones inherited from the father," says M. Masson; "despite the fact that one was *avarié,* the five sons reached an average age of 67, the three daughters an average of only 48; but one (Élisa) was carried off by a fever; another (Pauline) was an invalid from her youth; a third alone (Caroline) developed her life regularly." [13]

With the single exception of Élisa, the children all possessed remarkable physical beauty, with the small hands and feet which are generally considered a sign of race. In the atrium of the Roman mansion of Prince Napoleon their busts seemed like a collection of statues of unknown Cæsars. They were all of medium height except Lucien and Jérôme, who were tall. They were all more or less short-sighted. Toward the age of forty, certain ones, like Napoleon, became stout, but it was not from overeating. They were all remarkably abstemious at the table; and they were all equally regardless of physical comfort, being content to camp out with a bed, a table, and a chair.

[11] Cabanès, *Op. cit.,* 6.
[12] Cabanès, *Op. Cit.,* 8 *et seq.*
[13] 13 Masson, 283.

When we consider that Charles and Letitia had five sons, all of whom married and had children, it is not easy to understand the practical extinction to-day of the family name.

By his marriage with Julie Clary, Joseph had two daughters who lived to maturity, and who both married their first cousins. The influence of consanguinity upon the premature extinction of princely dynasties, where there are family taints, is so well known that it is not necessary to dwell upon the subject here. The younger daughter had no children; the elder had eight, three sons and five daughters, but the branch is now extinct.

Lucien, by his first marriage, with Catherine Boyer, had two daughters, both of whom married, but left no descendants. By his second marriage, with Madame Jouberthou, he had five sons and four daughters, but his branch is now extinct in the male line.

By his marriage with Hortense de Beauharnais, Louis had three sons. The eldest died of croup in childhood; the second succumbed to a malignant attack of measles at the age of twenty-six, leaving no children; the third was the Emperor Napoleon the Third, whose only child, the Prince Imperial, died unmarried at the age of twenty-three.

Having repudiated his first wife, Miss Patterson, by whom he had one son, Jérôme married Catherine of Würtemberg, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. Their eldest son, the Prince de Montfort, who was never married, died at the age of thirty-three of spinal trouble. The daughter, Mathilde, married, but had no children. The second son, known as Prince Napoleon, married the Princess Clotilde of Italy, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. The daughter left one son. The second son, Louis, has never married. The elder son, Victor, married Princess Clémentine of Belgium, by whom he had one daughter, and a son, Louis-Napoleon, born 23 January 1914, who is the present head of the House of Bonaparte, and the only one to bear the name.[14]

To pass to the sisters of the Emperor: Élisa had one son,

[14] That is to say, with the exception of the American Bonaparte, Jerome Napoleon, who is not recognized in the Imperial Family.

who died unmarried, at the age of twenty-four, from an accident; and a daughter, who married, but left no descendants.

Pauline, by her first marriage, with General Leclerc, had one child, who died young. She had no children by her second marriage, with Prince Borghèse.

Caroline was the only one of the three daughters to leave any posterity. By her marriage to Murat, she had two sons and two daughters, all of whom married. Her elder son had no children, but the second one left a numerous progeny. The two daughters are represented by many descendants among the noble houses of Italy.

Napoleon himself had only one legitimate son, the King of Rome, who died of consumption at the age of twenty-one. He also had three known bastards: Léon, the son of Éléonore Dénuelle; Alexandre, the son of Marie Walewska; and Émilie, the daughter of Madame Pellapra.

Nine years after the death of the Emperor there was another revolution at Paris, which sent the white flag of the Bourbons on the road to exile. The Duc d'Orléans succeeded to the throne under the title of Louis-Philippe, "King of the French, by the grace of God and the will of the people." The tricolored flag was restored, and the statue of Napoleon was replaced on the Vendôme column. When the news was brought to Madame Mère in Rome, she joyfully exclaimed: "Once again the Emperor is in Paris!"

Weary of war, after twenty-five years of almost continual conflict, France in 1814 had welcomed the return of the Bourbons. Now, the general sentiment had entirely changed. Among the peasant classes, and even in the industrial centres, warlike passions were again rife. The Government tried to find an outlet for them in the revival of the Napoleonic legend, which was held to be no longer dangerous since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt.

In his testament Napoleon had written: "*Je désire que mes cendres reposent sur les bords de la Seine au milieu de ce peuple Français que j'ai tant aimé.*" In conformity with this wish of

the Emperor steps were taken in 1840 to obtain the permission of the British Government to bring home his remains from Saint Helena. Louis-Philippe placed in command of the expedition his sailor son, the Prince de Joinville, who was accompanied by General Gourgaud, Comte Bertrand, his son Arthur, " the first French visitor who entered the island without the permission of Lord Bathurst," young Las Cases, and Napoleon's faithful attendant and friend, Marchand.

On the 15 October 1840, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Napoleon's arrival at Saint Helena, the *Belle-Poule* dropped anchor in the harbor of Jamestown. At midnight the party gathered around the grave of the Emperor, where a British sentinel was still stationed. After ten hours of strenuous labor the solid masonry of the tomb was finally demolished, and the four coffins were opened. His old servants, who had thought to find " Imperial Cæsar, dead, and turned to clay," were astonished to see the Emperor so lifelike, lying as if in slumber, his body clothed in the familiar green uniform, with the cross of the Légion gleaming upon his breast with undiminished lustre.

On a bitter cold winter day, the 15 December 1840, Paris opened wide its gates to receive the remains of the Great Emperor, who made the most majestic of his entrances into his capital. Mounted upon a stately funeral car, escorted by the aged veterans of the Old Guard, his body was borne under the Arc de Triomphe, down the beautiful avenue of the Champs-Élysées, across the Place de la Concorde, and over the Seine to the Invalides. Here the King of the French, surrounded by the Royal family and all the dignitaries of State, awaited the arrival of the cortège. Amidst the general hush of expectation, a chamberlain entered, and dramatically announced: *L'Empereur!*

The Prince of Joinville delivered the coffin to the King, who received it " in the name of France."

The fascination of Napoleon is one of the most striking facts in history and one of the best established. Under the gilded dome of the Invalides the spirit of the Great Emperor

still reigns. His tomb is the spot in Paris to which the visitor first turns his steps. In an open circular crypt one sees the massive sarcophagus of red Finland porphyry. Like sentinels around the tomb stand twelve colossal Victories in Carrara marble. In the mosaic of the pavement are traced the names of eight of Napoleon's greatest victories: Rivoli, Pyramides, Marengo, Austerlitz, Iéna, Friedland, Wagram, Moskova.

Here, under the soft blue light of the dome of the Invalides, upon the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people he loved so well, repose for all time the ashes of the greatest character known to History!

EPILOGUE

1769 — 1821

THE PERSONALITY OF NAPOLEON

THE LEGISLATOR — The Civil Code — The Concordat — The Consular Constitution — The University of France — The Legion of Honor

THE WORKER — Napoleon's Prodigious Labors — His System on Campaign — His Military Household — His Headquarters in the Field — His Defective Organization

THE MAN — His Strong Personality — His Dramatic Career — His Power of Leadership — His Disdain of Human Grandeurs — His Mental and Physical Characteristics — His Home Life

I

The Legislator

IT IS a remarkable fact that, more than a century after the death of Napoleon, he seems to live in the memory of men solely as the warrior — the *Conqueror,* who, for nineteen years, from Montenotte to Waterloo, filled the world with the noise of his battles. For Napoleon, like Washington, was "first in peace," as well as "first in war." As a legislator, an administrator, a diplomat, he has had few, if any, equals in the history of the world. If his military work ended at Waterloo in irretrievable disaster, his political work still endures. The finest victory of his career was when, after Brumaire, he dragged France from the ruins of the Revolution, and reëstablished religious, social, and political order.

On many occasions Napoleon affirmed the superiority of civil over military genius. "Military qualities," he wrote, "are necessary only under certain circumstances; the civil virtues, which characterize the true magistrate, have an influence at all moments upon the public welfare."

At Saint Helena, he said: "*Ma gloire n'est pas d'avoir gagné quarante batailles: . . . ce qui rien n'effacera, ce qui vivra éternellement, c'est mon Code Civil.*"

This reads almost like a quotation from Gibbon, who wrote: "The vain titles of the victories of Justinian are crumbled into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes; the public reason of the Romans has been silently and studiously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe; and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations. Wise or fortunate is the prince who connects his own reputation with the honor and interest of a perpetual order of men."

What right had the Exile of the South Atlantic to claim this imperishable monument? He had a right that could be claimed by no other code-maker of either ancient or modern times, from Theodosius and Justinian to Frederick and Maria Theresa. In his Civil Code, Napoleon aimed at a "perpetual order of men." To a nation divided by almost numberless different laws and traditions, he gave a law which fitted the vast majority of the people: he endowed them with a common law and a common tradition. As great an administrator as he was soldier, he brought into play the same creative powers: as he employed great generals, so he used great Civil servants and lawyers. He brought into action his immortal principle: *Ma politique est de gouverner les hommes comme le grand nombre veut l'être.* This meant a common law; and it was this that Napoleon had in mind when he took the chair at the first session of the Council of State, and cried: "Allons, Messieurs, commençons!"

To-day the legal system of Napoleon forms the basis of much of the jurisprudence of the world. Its influence is felt from Moscow to Madrid, from France to Roumania, and even in such distant parts of the globe as Louisiana, South Africa, and Java. Were it possible to give an impression of the Code Napoléon in a few words, it might be described as embodying the mass of

the laws and customs of old France, purged by the Revolution and poured by the genius of Napoleon into a Latin mould: clear, authoritative, paternal, — but inelastic.

In a sense, the Civil Code is not a Code at all: it is the common law of France fashioned into the likeness of a Code. It was a positive advantage that Napoleon himself was not a lawyer. He approached the subject with a great mind, free from legal trammels, determined that the final instrument should not only meet the needs of the people, but express the spirit of the nation. Any lawyer could produce a code, but something more than technical knowledge was needed to make it the permanent expression of national life. The Civil Code was no mechanical institution, imposed upon an unwilling people: it drew into itself the judicial traditions of twenty centuries, and it was gladly accepted. It was inspired by the principle of preserving for all generations and all ages the life-giving qualities of immemorial laws. It codified and applied to the service of man the immense mass of judicial notions and theories. This is what Napoleon and his lawyers actually performed.

It is impossible in this place to go into the long and intricate story of the French law as it existed prior to the Revolution. Beginning with the reign of Louis the Fourteenth steps had been taken to unify the complex material, and the labors of Colbert lightened the task of Napoleon. It is a common error to suppose that the Revolution destroyed the continuity of law in the minds and spirits of men: it simply cleared the way by the temporary suspension of the whole body of law, including a great multitude of customs.

It was the personality of Napoleon that made it possible for him to carry out the decree of the 2 September 1791: "Il sera fait un Code de lois civiles commun à tout le royaume." It has been well pointed out that, though the Code was named after the Emperor at the period of the height of his glory, "we can recognize to-day, without flattery, that it is to the First Consul that we owe the benefit of a legislation which, by the

clearness and the precision of its form, is a real masterpiece."

It may be admitted at once that the Code Napoléon was produced in the same form and by the same methods as the ordinances of the kings. The lawyers chosen by the First Consul were simply the latest workmen. As Professor Esmein says: "He constructed solidly the edifice, of which the plan was traced in advance, and of which the materials had been selected and prepared by the generations gone before."

Given the plan, the material, the workmen, what was there for Napoleon to do? There was, in fact, all to do. Where the kings and lawyers had failed in ages of peace, it remained for the First Consul to succeed after the devastation of the Revolution. The codes of to-day, after more than a century of successful operation, prove not only that he succeeded, but that he gave the whole world, as well as France, a new instrument of social and national progress.

Monsieur Sorel has summed up in one pregnant phrase the spirit with which Napoleon entered upon his task: "Il vit la fin, il vit les moyens, et il les adopta." Having set the machinery in motion, he watched over the work with constant care. He actually presided at 57 of the 102 sittings of the Council, and in fact led the debates. Thibaudeau, who was present, declares that he provoked, sustained, directed the discussions:

"He spoke without preparation, without embarrassment, without pretension, with the freedom, and in the tone of conversation. He was never inferior to any member of the Council; sometimes he was equal to the ablest of them in the facility with which he seized the crux of the questions; in the justice of his ideas, and the force of his reasoning. Often he surpassed them in the turn of his phrases and the originality of his expressions."

At every turn he compelled his draftsmen to face realities. "We have finished," he declared, "the romance of the Revolution; we must now begin its history, and see what is real and practicable in the application of its principles — not what

is speculative and hypothetical. To follow to-day any other course would be to philosophize, and not to govern."

As Monsieur Sorel points out: "If the articles of the Civil Code open up so easily to all the practical realities of life, adapt themselves with so much elasticity to established customs, we owe it in great part to the intervention of the First Consul, with the constant clearness of his understanding, his imperious demand for conciseness in thoughts and expressions, to his genius essentially realistic and concrete."

The greatest difficulty which confronted the compilers at the outset was the enormous mass of decrees emanating from the National Assemblies, and they wisely appealed from the ideas of Rousseau to the customs of the past. "New theories," they declared, "are but the maxims of certain individuals: the old maxims represent the sense of centuries." On no occasion did Napoleon display more forcibly his unerring political sagacity than in his sifting of the old and the new in the great Code which was afterwards to bear his name.

For the redaction of the Code, the First Consul named Tronchet, Bigot, and Portalis, who completed the first draft in four months. It was then submitted for criticism to the Court of Cassation and the Tribunals of Appeal, before being finally passed upon by the Council of State. Much credit is certainly due to the skill of the three chief redactors, but in the strength, simplicity, and symmetry of the final form we may discern the master hand of Napoleon.

Many of the articles in the Code were due entirely to Napoleon. The men of the Revolution had sought to make of the family a small community founded on the principles of liberty and equality. Napoleon restored the paternal authority practically as it existed under the Ancien Régime. The consent of the father was required for the marriage of sons up to the age of 25, of daughters to the age of 21; and other regulations were framed in the same spirit. These customs, contrasting sharply with those of England and America, have had a profound influence in moulding the character of the French, as well as that

of other Continental nations, and have made them pliable to the authority of local officials and the central government.

On the other hand, Napoleon's stand on the question of divorce was such as to give some ground to the charge that his action was dictated by personal considerations. While firmly setting his face against the lax provisions of the law of 1792, which permitted divorce upon a mere declaration of incompatibility of temper, he disagreed with the framers of the new Code, who had proposed to prohibit divorce entirely. After long debates it was decided to reduce the causes from nine to four, namely: adultery, cruelty, condemnation to a degrading penalty, and mutual consent, — *provided,* however, that this last demand should be persistently urged after not less than two years of marriage, and in no case was it to be valid after twenty years of marriage.

The personal inclinations of Napoleon also appeared in the provisions regarding the act of adoption. Yet, lest marriage should thereby be discouraged, celibates were expressly debarred from adopting heirs.

With his prophetic vision into the future, he was opposed to the law compelling the equal division of property among all the children, as likely to result in curbing the normal increase of the population of France. As finally adopted the law allowed the parent to dispose freely of one-fourth of his property, provided there were no more than three children, the amount diminishing as the size of the family increased. The natural result has been, as Napoleon feared, that the birth rate of France has suffered a serious check. The great captain did all in his power to prevent this curbing of the French population, but the sentiment of equality was too strong for him to overcome.

The Civil Code became law in 1804, and three years later, after undergoing some slight changes, was renamed the Code Napoléon. Its provisions were adopted by Italy in 1806, and by Holland in 1810. It has also exerted an immense influence on the legislation of Germany, Switzerland, and Spain; while many of the states of Central and South America have borrowed its salient features.

Perhaps the most politic, and certainly the most courageous act of Napoleon's career was the *Concordat,* or treaty of peace with the Roman Catholic Church. During the Revolution the tithes of the Church had been abolished, its property confiscated, and its land sold for the benefit of the nation. These acts were due in part to the urgent needs of the public treasury, and in part to hatred and fear of so powerful a religious institution.

Following these decrees, in an effort to subject the Church to the State, the bishops and priests had been ordered to take a stringent oath of obedience to the Assembly. All but four of the bishops refused, and their example was followed by 50,000 priests. The recusants, who were termed *orthodox* or *non-juring* priests, were deprived of their livings, and exiled from France. Those who accepted the new decree were called *constitutionals,* and some 12,000 of these married. Their time-serving, however, availed them little, for, during the Terror, their stipends were unpaid, and most of the churches were closed.

But in the early summer of 1799, the constitutionals were once more allowed to observe the Christian Sunday; and at the time of Napoleon's return from Egypt there were many signs that France was turning back to her ancient faith. This was most marked in the country districts, where the peasantry had never ceased to cling to their old orthodox priests.

Although he had never had any deep faith, Napoleon felt the need of religion as the bulwark of morality and the cement of society. After Brumaire he suppressed the oath previously exacted of the clergy, and replaced it by a *promise* of fidelity to the Constitution. On the eve of his departure for Italy in May 1800, he said to Joseph: "A victory will leave me master to carry out all that I wish." The Concordat was a consequence of Marengo.

Before traversing the Alps, Napoleon lodged at Martigny under the roof of the Bernardins. When the hour for the Mass sounded on Sunday the monks came to notify him, but he excused himself from attending on the plea of a burden of work.

Two weeks later, returning in triumph to Milan, the victor of Marengo, enfranchised by his sword, he no longer hesitates to affirm himself the chief of a Catholic nation. To his colleagues at Paris he writes: "To-day, despite what our atheists at Paris may say, I am going in great ceremony to the *Te Deum* they chant at the cathedral of Milan."

On his way back to France, he spent the night at Vercelli, where he confided to the cardinal-bishop, Martiniana, his plans for a general arrangement of the religious affairs of France by an accord with the Pope. His proposals, which the cardinal was authorized to repeat at Rome, were as follows:

First. All the French bishops — those in France as well as the émigrés — shall be deposed from their sees, and new bishops chosen "by the representative of sovereignty in the nation." These new bishops shall be "canonically instituted and receive the bull of the Holy See."

Second. As the property of the Gallican Church had been irretrievably lost in the Revolution, the number of dioceses should be reduced, and each of the reduced number should receive a state-pension of 2500 Roman crowns "until they could be endowed with property."

These proposals will be found to be the basis of the famous Concordat. They were favorably received by the Pope, who wrote Martiniana that he would willingly open negotiations. He at once sent Cardinal Spina to Vercelli, and later authorized him to proceed to Paris. The Royalists were appalled at this news, and the "Pretender" wrote from his retreat at Mitau to the Czar, Paul the First: "Perhaps never has the cause of the French monarchy run a greater danger than at this moment."

At Paris the negotiations were carried on partly by Bonaparte in person, partly by Talleyrand, but mainly by the famous Bernier, the vicar-general of the émigré bishop of La Rochelle. The Vatican was represented by the cardinals Spina, Consalvi, and Caprara. There was much discussion over the question of recognizing the Roman Catholic religion as *dominant* in France; also over the two points first raised by Napoleon. He insisted: first, that all of the bishops, whether orthodox or constitutionals,

should resign their sees into the Pope's hands; and, second, that the Church should renounce all claims to her confiscated property. This latter provision was absolutely essential to any agreement, as the former clerical lands had been sold to the peasants, whom it was impossible to dispossess.

To both of these propositions the Vatican offered a tenacious resistance, and Napoleon had a harder task than in any of his military enterprises. In the end he won out by threatening *the adoption of a national religion,* and the Concordat was ratified at Eastertide 1802.

Under the new arrangement France was to have sixty sees, to which the First Consul would enjoy the right of nomination, while canonical investiture would be made by the Pope. The Church abandoned all claims to the confiscated property, and the State undertook to furnish suitable stipends to the clergy. For the rest, in all matters ecclesiastical the First Consul enjoyed the same consideration as the former Kings of France.[1]

One of the principal advantages which Napoleon expected to gain from his peace with the Church was to rally the Royalists to his support. This motive clearly appears in a conversation which he had with Thibaudeau at Malmaison in June 1801. He said:

"Last Sunday I was walking here alone when I heard the church bells of Rueil. So strong is the power of early association, I felt quite moved by the sound. I said to myself: 'If such

1 The terms of the Concordat may be briefly summarized as follows:

Roman Catholicism was recognized as "the religion of the great majority of the French citizens." (This was a concession on the part of the Papacy from the first proposition that it should be recognized as the *dominant* religion.)

The religion was to be exercised freely in France "conformably to the police regulations" established by the Government "for public tranquillity."

France was to be divided into new dioceses; the First Consul was to appoint new bishops, and the Pope was to confirm them.

The bishops were to swear allegiance to the Government, and to introduce into their rituals prayers for the Consuls. They were to appoint the parish priests, but only priests agreeable to the Government were to be nominated.

The Pope would not make any claim for the alienated ecclesiastical property, and the Government promised a suitable income to bishops and priests.

The Pope recognized in the First Consul the same rights and prerogatives as under the Ancien Régime.

a man as I can be affected in this way, how deep must be the impression on simple believing souls? What have your philosophers and *diéologues* to say to that? A nation must have a religion, and that religion must be under the control of the Government. At present fifty émigré bishops, pensioned by England, control the French clergy. Their influence must be destroyed, and nothing but the authority of the Pope can do that. People may call me a Papist if they like. I am nothing. I shall be a Catholic for the sake of the people.' " [2]

The carrying through of the Concordat was one of the most successful acts of Napoleon's career; and the Papacy would have proved the firmest stay of his dynasty if he had not later, so needlessly, made an enemy of Pius the Seventh. The quarrel began with his determination to dominate the Church by the "Organic Articles," and was accentuated by his wrath when Pius refused to annul the marriage of Jérôme. It ended with the occupation of Rome by the French troops; the deposition of the Pope, his enforced sojourn at Savona and Fontainebleau, and the undoing of most of the work achieved by the Concordat. This treatment of a defenceless old man did more to shake the Imperial throne than any one disaster in the field. It is one of the mysteries of Napoleon's career that, after displaying so much tact and courage in negotiating the peace with the Church, he should have so lightly thrown away all of the advantages which he had gained.

In his memoirs, of dubious reliability, the Abbé de Pradt asserts that Napoleon often remarked that the Concordat was the greatest mistake of his reign. If this is correct, the statements were made in moments of irritation during the height of his quarrels with the Pope. At Saint Helena he certainly expressed himself as if he were of quite another opinion. He said: "I made the Concordat to consolidate things by a new agreement, and to rally around me the true Catholics. I wanted to have the Pope with me, and then I should have been master of things ecclesiastical in France, as much as if I had been Head of the Church. The Pope would have done everything that

[2] Thibaudeau, *Bonaparte and the Consulate*, 153–155.

I asked of him, and I should have found no difficulty with the sincerely religious party in France." [3]

If this peace with the Papacy fell short of complete success, it was largely due to the intransigeant character of Napoleon himself. To-day, it is remembered as a wonderful achievement, which rescued France from a position of the greatest danger, united the people by a religious peace, and confirmed the work of the Revolution.

It is impossible not to admire the courage with which Napoleon broke with the strongest tradition of the Revolution, overthrew the opposition from all quarters, and mainly by his own unaided efforts carried the nation with him. He had to face the almost unanimous disapproval of the politicians who had given hostages to the Revolution, and who formed the bulk of the legislature and the bureaucracy; also of the great army leaders; and of the Royalists, under the guidance of Louis the Eighteenth, who was shrewd enough to realize what the new development meant to his cause. Madame de Staël assembled the principal generals at her house and told them that they had only twenty-four hours to decide how to prevent the First Consul from carrying out his scheme of reëstablishing the power of the Church. In the opinion of Professor Rose, "had not the infidel generals been for the most part sundered by mutual jealousies they might perhaps have overthrown Bonaparte." [4] But they ventured on nothing more than a few coarse jests and clumsy demonstrations. To all protests Napoleon opposed a calm demeanor which veiled a rigid determination, in the face of which his enemies were powerless.

To the treaty itself there was annexed an appendix which allowed the Government to adopt certain "police regulations." Taking advantage of this, Napoleon issued a code of 121 *Articles organiques,* which again put into force all the former State control of Papal bulls, synods, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Furthermore, in conformity with the principle of liberty of conscience, the Huguenot and Lutheran religions were put on an equal footing with the Roman. The Pope, with much

[3] Gourgaud, *Journal.*

[4] Rose, 1 *Napoleon,* 259.

reason, felt that he had been tricked; and here we touch the ground of ultimate failure. The Concordat contained within itself the seeds of death.

On the 11 November 1799, the day following the overturn of the Directory, the three provisional Consuls assembled at the Luxembourg. On entering the room Sieyès asked the question: "Who is to preside?" But Bonaparte had already taken his seat at the head of the table, and Roger Ducos replied: "Do you not see that the General presides?" The question was never raised again.

The Consuls immediately began the preparation of a new Constitution, with the assistance of a large committee representing the faction of the Ancients and Five Hundred that had supported the new government. Their first care was to create four great bodies: (1) the Council of State, whose functions were to advise the executive in the preparation of legislation; (2) the Tribunate, which was to discuss all laws, but without voting on them; (3) the Legislative Body, which was to vote on all laws, but without discussing them; (4) the Senate, whose principal duty was to decide upon constitutional questions raised by the Tribunate. The most important body of the four was the first, in which were placed all the men with practical knowledge of questions of law, finance, or administration.

In framing the new Constitution the most thorny question of all was left to the last: What was to be the nature and extent of the executive power? It was finally decided that there should be a first, second, and third Consul, appointed for ten years; that these officials should have general control over foreign affairs, the army, navy, and police; that Bonaparte should be First Consul, and should appoint the two others. At the end there arose the question as to the powers of the consuls between one another. Was there to be a triumvirate, — a modified Directory, — or a dictatorship? Napoleon solved the question, and all bowed to his dominating personality. He dictated a clause providing that no executive act should be taken without the First Consul consulting his colleagues; but

they were given no vote, and the final decision rested solely with him.

As his colleagues, Bonaparte appointed Cambacérès, an eminent jurist, who had voted for the death of the King, and Lebrun, a conservative of great financial knowledge, who was generally respected for his integrity and moderation.

In the first ministry were men of all shades of opinion. The most notable were: Talleyrand, a former bishop, a member of the Assembly, an experienced diplomatist; Fouché, an ex-Terrorist, a master craftsman in every device of secret police work; and Gaudin, one of the greatest minds in the department of finance.

The Revolution had well prepared the way for a strongly centralized government by abolishing the former provinces, and the *parlements* which had maintained the old laws, customs, and privileges. Everything therefore favored the action of the First Consul in drawing all local powers under his own control.

The Constitution of the Year Eight, adopted on the 16 February 1800, substituted local government by the central power for local self-government. The departments remained the same, but the " districts " abolished by the Convention were reconstituted on a somewhat larger scale and termed *arrondissements,* while the smaller communes, which had been merged in the cantons since 1795, were revived. The affairs of the departments were to be administered by prefects appointed by the First Consul, while sub-prefects were similarly placed over the new arrondissements, and mayors over the communes. In the case of the communes, however, the mayors were named by the prefects unless the population exceeded 5000 souls.

In the first months of 1800, France was therefore placed under the control of a hierarchy of officials closely bound together by interest and *esprit de corps,* and all under the direct control of the central government.

Speaking of Napoleon, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher says: " No single mind is more powerfully stamped upon the institutions of contemporary France, for by his reaction against its excesses he

saved all that was precious in the philosophy of the Revolution." A child of the people, Napoleon had many of the gifts, but none of the illusions, of the democratic statesman. He would never have said with Burke, "Whenever the people have a feeling they are commonly in the right." In his opinion, an intelligent but illiterate population, demoralized by revolutionary anarchy, was unfit for political liberty. At that time 96 per cent. of the population of France could not read, and one of the first steps of Napoleon was to provide for the education of the people.

For the feeble central schools of the Convention, the law of 1802 substituted the communal colleges and lyceums, with a rigid discipline, and with a sustained course of study. To the exclusively mathematical and scientific studies of the Revolution were adjoined the old classical courses. Finally, there were established 6400 scholarships, fairly distributed, which opened a wide access to the schools.

During the recent war some three million men in the British Army were undergoing at one time or another some form of liberal or technical instruction. During the wars of the Empire practically the whole adult male population of France was passed through the Army, and Napoleon said at Saint Helena that it was one of his plans that every regiment should have its school "for elementary or continued instruction in any branch: science, the humanities, mechanics." It is therefore fair to say that the idea was as old as Napoleon.

In the two great spheres of law and the higher education France has been content with the powerful mould bequeathed by the legislation of the Consulate and the Empire. "L'éducation publique," said Napoleon, "c'est l'avenir et la durée de mon œuvre après moi!"

When Lucien Bonaparte became Minister of the Interior in 1799, he asserted that there was hardly any education to be found in France. Although this statement was somewhat exaggerated so far as the advanced and secondary schools were concerned, it was practically true of the elementary institutions. In Paris there were only twenty-four elementary schools

open, with an attendance of less than 1000, and the situation was fully as bad in the rural districts.

By the law of the 30 April 1802, the *écoles centrales,* founded by the Convention, were reorganized either as *écoles secondaires* or as *lycées.* The former were local or private institutions, while the latter were controlled directly by the Government. In both, great attention was paid to the exact and applied sciences. Their aim was to develop useful citizens and obedient soldiers. The training was of a military nature, and the sessions began and ended with the roll of drums.

While the number of lycées and of their pupils rapidly increased, the progress of the secondary and primary school was very slow. In 1806 only 25,000 children were attending the public primary schools. But two years later both elementary and advanced education received a marked impetus from the establishing of the University of France.

The policy of Napoleon in the matter of education was highly characteristic. In no other part of his work were exhibited more clearly the force of his will, the close grip of a problem, the intense effort. His aims were thus set forth:

"I want a teaching body, because such a body never dies, but transmits its organization and spirit. . . . So long as one does not learn from infancy whether one ought to be Republican or Monarchist, Catholic or sceptic, the State will not form a nation: it will rest on vague and uncertain foundations and be exposed constantly to disorder and change."

Such being Napoleon's purpose, the new University of France was admirably fitted to carry out his ideals. Unlike the great universities of Germany and England, it was not a local institution: it was the sum total of all the teaching bodies of the French Empire, arranged and drilled in one vast instructional army. All the schools of the nation were absorbed in and controlled by this great teaching body, which was to inculcate the precepts of the Catholic religion, fidelity to the Emperor, and his Government. An École Normale was also founded, to train teachers, as the seminary trains the clergy.

For educational purposes, France was divided into seventeen

Academies, which formed the local centres of the new university, one located in Paris and the balance in the provinces. Within a short time the instruction of all the French schools was thus strictly organized and controlled. Conceived by a soldier, the military spirit pervaded the whole system. By orders of the Emperor, the pupils in the lycées wore uniforms, and everything took place according to military discipline. The constant demand for young soldiers turned all the lycées into preparatory schools for the Army. They were regularly inspected by military officers; the tattoo, the presenting of arms, the march past, became part of the regular routine. Every detail of the instruction was carefully supervised by the Emperor. Such was the military discipline that a pupil could not pass from one room to another without previous permission. They were to read Cæsar rather than Tacitus: "Corneille and Bossuet, these are the teachers they need; these are the men who enter with enthusiasm and obedience into the established order of their time. They fortify and adorn it." Still, the system was not popular; and in 1808 Napoleon made a list of nearly 900 families in Paris and the provinces whose sons between the ages of 16 and 18 were to be sent to Saint-Cyr to be trained for the Army.

Good work was done on the lines prescribed: the curriculum was narrow but definite; and the strongest possible appeal was made to the spirit of emulation. Besides Latin, the chief stress was laid on mathematics, especially in its application to practical problems. An English traveller in France after the fall of the Empire states that the students of 18 in the École Polytechnique knew more mathematics than many of the professors in Great Britain. It was a subject in which the French have always been eminent, and it was the favorite study of Napoleon himself.

One other subject was specially taught, and that was loyalty to the Empire. The pupils learnt by heart as a sacred text the Imperial Catechism: "We owe in particular to Napoleon, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service; . . . for it is he whom God has raised up in difficult cir-

cumstances to restore the public worship and the holy religion of our fathers, and to be their protector." The pupils learnt thus the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* which became the utterance of a passion stronger than life itself.

Article 87 of the Constitution of the Year Eight was worded as follows:

"There shall be awarded national recompenses to the warriors who shall have rendered striking services in fighting for the Republic."

Under the terms of this article, some 1854 awards were made, consisting mainly of guns, sabres, and other kinds of weapons. But these distinctions were not highly valued by the soldiers themselves, while, on the other hand, the artists, the savants, and others who had rendered patriotic services, felt that they were slighted in these manifestations of the national gratitude. This sentiment suggested to the First Consul the idea of creating an order of merit which could be awarded alike for military prowess and civil services. Such was the origin of the famous Legion of Honor. Rœderer was charged to formulate a definite plan, upon the bases outlined by the First Consul, and the project was laid before the Council of State on the 4 May 1802. The statement began with the words:

"The Legion of Honor pays to military services, as to civil services, the rewards of the courage which they all have merited; it joins them in the same glory, as the nation joins them in its gratitude."

Replying to Mathieu Dumas, who, while approving the institution in principle, wished to reserve the benefits exclusively for soldiers, Napoleon said: [5]

"These ideas might have been good at the time of the feudal régime and of chivalry, or when the Gauls were conquered by the Franks. Then the premier quality of a general, or of a chief, was brute force. But the change in the military system must modify the qualities necessary in a general. Since the revolution produced by the invention of gunpowder, what con-

[5] Cited by Regnault, 3 *Histoire de Napoléon*, 26–28.

stitutes the force of the general? — Civil qualities, the coup d'œil, calculation, intelligence, administrative knowledge, eloquence — not that of the lawyer, but that which is appropriate for the head of armies — and finally, the knowledge of men. All that is civil. In all countries, force gives way to civil qualities. It is not as a general that I govern, but because the nation believes that I have the civil qualities necessary for the government. If it did not have this opinion, the government could not exist. We must not reason from centuries of barbarism to the present times. Three or four hundred thousand soldiers are nothing in a mass of thirty million men. Besides, the general commands only through his civil qualities; as soon as his task is finished, he returns to civil life. The soldiers themselves are only the children of citizens. The army is but the nation. Take the soldier, apart from his civic surroundings, and you have a man who knows no other law but brute force, who judges everything by that standard, and sees nothing beyond it. The civilian, on the other hand, sees only the public welfare. The method of the soldier is to act despotically; that of the civilian is to submit to discussion, to truth, to reason. I do not hesitate therefore to maintain that the preëminence belongs incontestably to the civilian. If we are to distinguish, in awarding honors, between the soldiers and the civilians, we must establish two orders, whereas there is only one nation. If we are to award honors solely to the soldiers, that is even worse, for then the nation will be nothing."

This discourse made a profound impression. Such an eloquent protest against military government, pronounced by the most illustrious of captains, carried away the minds of all. Although they were accustomed to hear the First Consul treat with superiority all questions, they were amazed every time at his prodigious versatility of mind, and at his talent of elocution, which seemed to come to him without study, and without effort.

Nevertheless, the opposition was not silenced. Men justly esteemed for their probity spoke against the plan. Berlier, Thibaudeau, and Réal showed themselves the most opinionated.

In answer to Berlier, who asserted that crosses and ribbons were nothing but playthings, appropriate only to a monarchy, Napoleon replied with vivacity:

"I defy any one to show me a republic, ancient or modern, in which there were no distinctions. You call them toys? Well! it is with toys that men are led!"

Four sessions of the Council of State were devoted to the discussion of the plan, and it was finally adopted by the close vote of 14 to 10. In the Tribunate, the vote was 56 to 38; and the decree was definitely adopted on the 19 May 1802 by a vote of 166 against 110 in the Legislative Body.

At the time that it was founded, the Légion comprised only four classes: grand-officier, commandant, officier, and légionnaire; but, by a decree of the 30 January 1805, Napoleon instituted a fifth degree, called at first grand-aigle; after the Restoration, grand-cordon; and subsequently, by the name of grand-croix. This degree was conferred on the princes Joseph and Louis, and most of the marshals, cardinals, ministers, and dignitaries of the Court. As Napoleon did not wish to wear his own effigy, which formed the salient part of the decoration, the plaque bore only the Imperial eagle, which gave the name of grand-aigle.[6]

The new institution was admirably fitted to consolidate Napoleon's power. The stipends allotted to the members of the Légion were secured by the confiscated lands, and this afforded a strong guarantee against the restoration of the Monarchy and the feudal nobility. It was the first long step toward the founding of the Empire and the creation of the Imperial noblesse. It required no superhuman sagacity on the part of the orators of the Tribunate to foresee this outcome. The Legion of Honor satisfied an innate craving of the human race, and its durable prestige is the best answer to hostile critics: it has survived all the changes of French government, and never was more sought after than to-day.[7]

[6] Martin, *Les décorations françaises*, 6–11.

[7] In his Lowell Lectures, on the "Personality of Napoleon" (page 166), Professor Rose makes the curious statement that, "By contrast we must admire

Writing in 1845, Monsieur Thiers said: "The Legion of Honor counts hardly more than forty years of existence, and it is already consecrated as if it had traversed the centuries, so much has it become, during these forty years, the reward of heroism, of services, of merit of every kind. Time, the judge of institutions, has thus pronounced upon the utility and the dignity of this one. Putting to one side the abuse which it has been possible sometimes to make of such a reward, during the different régimes which have followed — abuse inherent in every reward given by men to other men — let us recognize how much there is that is fine, deep, and novel in the world, in the case of an institution tending to place upon the breast of the simple soldier, of the modest savant, the same decoration which figures upon the breast of the commander-in-chief, of princes, of kings. Let us admit that this creation of an honorary distinction was the most striking triumph of equality itself — not of that kind which makes men equal by lowering them, but of that which makes them equal by uplifting them." [8]

II

The Worker

For over a hundred years, the battles and campaigns of Napoleon have been the subject of careful analysis, and they form the basis of the higher instruction in all military colleges. It is not our intention, however, to attempt here to set forth anything new in this connection. It is the man himself, in thought and action, that we would depict from life.

What most strikes the student of the campaigns of Napoleon is the power of his personality. He was a giant who towered over all who surrounded him. Collaborators he had none —

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the conduct of Washington, who, on becoming President, abolished the Order of Cincinnatus (*sic*), founded in 1783 as a reward for distinguished service in the field." As a matter of fact, the *Society of the Cincinnati,* founded in 1783 as a *hereditary patriotic society,* was *not* abolished by Washington, who remained its president until his death in 1799, and it is still in existence to-day!

[8] Thiers, *Le Consulat et l'Empire.*

only agents who carried out his orders. With him, centralization was carried to the extreme; and it was this suppression of all initiative which in the end brought about the ruin of his system.

"Napoleon's cabinet," says Fain, "was a laboratory which had a quite mechanical side. . . . The Emperor spent his life in his study: all other circumstances of his life, one may say, were merely digressions." This was true whether he was at the Tuileries or on campaign; whether his cabinet was in the palaces of kings, or in a wretched barn in the wilds of Poland. His method was characterized by prodigious labor, and an indomitable determination to attain the object in view. While all the rest of the world slept, he alone meditated, decided, dictated his orders, utilized every moment of time. We see him, at the dead of night, bent over his maps, illuminated by a score of candles; then we behold him, in the light of day, superintending the execution of the plans prepared amidst the silence of his sanctum, and inspiring his soldiers with the "divine fire" — the spirit of his faith and his genius.

Talking with the Russian general, Balachof, Napoleon said: "In war, men are nothing; it is one man who counts. . . . When, at the dead of night, a good idea flashes through my brain, the order is given in a quarter of an hour, and in half an hour it is being executed by the outposts." This was not an idle boast. Méneval tells us that Napoleon's indefatigable activity of mind and body led him to practice too absolutely the principle that "one must not leave to others what one can do oneself." He took not only the initiative in thought, but also attended personally to the details of every piece of business. Not an order was given by Berthier, not a despatch was written by Talleyrand, which had not been dictated by Napoleon. In reality it was he who did everything.

"But the very originality of Napoleon's work," writes Colonel Vachée, "precluded all collaboration. Manœuvres such as those of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Echmühl, to mention only these particularly great and striking masterpieces, could have been conceived only by one mind — that of the Emperor."

A concrete example will enable us to see more clearly Napoleon's method in the birth and the development of an idea. We take it from the memoirs of Ségur, one of his aides de camp: [9]

The scene is the Imperial headquarters at Pont-de-Briques, near Boulogne, where for many months the Grand Army has been assembled for the invasion of England. The date is the 13 August 1805, and the Emperor has just learned that Admiral Villeneuve, after an indecisive action with the English fleet off Ferrol, has sailed for Cadiz instead of Brest, as ordered. It is necessary therefore to change all his plans. He sends for Daru, the commissary-general of the army, who finds the Emperor in his room, with a grim look on his face, a fulminating expression in his eyes, over which his hat is pulled down.

After a brief tirade against Villeneuve, Napoleon suddenly changes his tone. Pointing to a desk covered with papers, he says to Daru: "Sit down there and write." Immediately, without transition and apparently without meditation, he dictates, unhesitatingly and in his concise and imperious manner, the plan of the Austrian campaign, as far as Vienna. From four o'clock in the morning, for five hours he thus dictates.

To many, this story seems incredible, although it was confirmed in a note communicated, thirty years later, to the French Archives by Daru's son. However, we must not accept the report without examination. The improvisation was only apparent. "If I appear to be always ready to reply to everything," Napoleon once said to Rœderer, "it is because, before undertaking anything, I have meditated for a long time — I have foreseen what might happen. It is not a spirit which suddenly reveals to me what I have to say or do in a circumstance unexpected by others — it is reflection, meditation."

In fact, it was an invariable habit of Napoleon, as soon as he formed a plan, to have always a second combination in reserve, which could be substituted for the first in case of failure. "Je fais toujours mon thème de plusieurs façons," he once said.

[9] Ségur, *Un aide de camp de Napoléon*, 158 *et seq.*

Napoleon, says Méneval, always walked while dictating. Sometimes he began while seated; but at the first sentence he arose, and walked up and down the room. He continued this promenade all the time that he was dictating. As he became engrossed in his subject, he experienced a kind of tic, which consisted of a movement of the right arm, which he twisted, while pulling with his hand the cuff of his uniform. But his utterance was not hastened by this movement; his walk continued to be equally slow and measured.

The words to express his thoughts came without the slightest effort. If they were occasionally incorrect, these very errors added to their energy, and depicted marvellously to the mind what he wished to convey. These mistakes, however, were rare, and never appeared in his despatches except when there was no time to make the corrections. In his addresses to the Legislative Bodies, in his proclamations, in his letters to the sovereigns, in his diplomatic notes, his style was finished, and appropriate to the subject.

Napoleon rarely wrote himself: it was tiresome for him, because his hand could not keep pace with the rapidity of his thoughts. He never took his pen in hand unless he happened by chance to be alone, and wanted to place on paper the inception of an idea; but after writing a few words, he stopped, and threw away the pen. Then, if his secretary was not on duty, he called upon Duroc, or one of his aides de camp, to take his dictation. The only person he ever wrote to himself was Joséphine, and his letters to her are almost illegible. During the Russian campaign, after the battle of Borodino, when he lost his voice for a day, as the result of a cold, and was forced to write his orders, his staff had great difficulty in deciphering his hieroglyphics. His writing was an assemblage of characters without connection, and half the letters of each word were missing. He could not himself read his own handwriting, or was unwilling to take the trouble to do so. If he was asked for an explanation, he usually tore up the draft, or threw it in the fire; then he dictated the matter anew, generally embodying the same ideas, but expressed in different words.

His spelling was never correct, although he could always detect errors in the writings of others. It was a case of negligence which had become a habitude: the attention necessary to spell correctly would have broken the thread of his thoughts. He also made the same errors in his figures. He was capable of solving the most complicated mathematical problem, but he could not add a column of figures correctly. It is true, however, that these errors were often intentional. In calculating the number of his effectives, he had formed the habit of swelling the totals, and in this way he ended by deceiving even himself.

His notes to Joséphine, which generally consisted of only a few lines, were usually free from faults of spelling, except in the case of certain words, which he never wrote correctly. For example, he invariably wrote *gabinet* for cabinet, *Gaffarelli* for Caffarelli, *enfin que* for afin que, *enfanterie* for infanterie. The first two words were evidently a reminiscence of his mother tongue, but the other two have no analogy with the Italian language, and cannot be explained. He spoke Italian badly, and avoided using the language, unless compelled to do so when talking with persons who did not speak French. Then he employed a kind of bastard French with terminations in *a*, *i*, or *o*.

Napoleon's success was due largely to his power of work. To Las Cases, he said at Saint Helena: "Work is my element: I was born and made for work. I have known the limit of my eyes and the limit of my legs, but I have never known that of my capacity for work." The nineteen years of his public life were filled with almost superhuman labor. One of his maxims was that time was everything; once lost, it could never be regained. "Working as many as twenty hours a day," says Chaptal, "he never showed the slightest trace of either mental or physical fatigue. Through that alone, face to face with the enemy he possessed an incalculable advantage."

In addition, Napoleon possessed a rare and precious faculty: he worked as easily at night as during the day. When on campaign, he usually went to bed soon after dinner, and arose again after midnight to receive his reports and dictate his orders.

"Such was the special organization of this man, extraordinary in every respect," writes Gourgaud, "that he could sleep for an hour, wake up to give an order, go to sleep again, and reawaken without either his rest or his health suffering. Six hours of sleep were sufficient, whether he took them at a stretch or at various intervals during the twenty-four hours." It is easy to understand what a tremendous advantage this gave him over the enemy, who devoted the hours of night to sleep, or wasted them in endless deliberations.

It should be pointed out, however, that this period of intensive work was only of limited duration. At the age of forty, Napoleon's physical powers had begun to decline, although his mind was as active as ever. He himself anticipated that this would be the case, for he said in 1805, at the age of thirty-six: "There is only one time in life for war. I shall be good for it six years longer, after which I must pull myself up." The operations at the opening of the campaign of 1809 were the last in which the Emperor displayed his former vigor and activity. In his subsequent campaigns, his will was less strong, his character less determined, his mind showed less clearness and precision.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of Napoleon's genius was his power of concentration. He himself compared his mind to an escritoire in which various questions were arranged in methodical order. When he wished to consider a certain subject, he pulled out a certain drawer. The matter having been decided, he passed in the same way to the next. When he was through, he closed all of the drawers of his brain, and went to sleep. In the meantime, he never allowed his thoughts for a moment to stray from the particular question under consideration.

Throughout his career, Napoleon was a most audacious gambler. Time and time again he staked his entire fortune in a decisive game; but, being the most skillful of players, he used all the resources of his intelligence and his experience in winning. In 1797, he wrote Talleyrand from Italy: "The skillful man must profit by everything, neglect nothing which may give him an additional chance. Sometimes, through despising only

a single point, the less skillful man loses everything." Again he said: "All great events depend upon a single hair."

This audacity was supported by a tremendous ambition to attain glory, to accomplish great things, or perish in the attempt. To Bourrienne he said: "For me the immortality of the soul is the impression one leaves on the memory of man. This thought leads to great things: it were better not to have lived than to leave behind no trace of one's existence." It is the thought expressed in Scott's immortal lines:

> "One crowded hour of glorious life
> Is worth an age without a name."

However much we may deplore the tremendous risks which Napoleon ran, we cannot but admire the magnificent moral courage of the man. At Saint Helena he said: "People form a very incorrect idea of the strength necessary to wage, with a full knowledge of its consequences, one of those great battles on which depends the fate of an army and a country, and the possession of a throne." Consequently he declared more than once that the primary quality of a man of war is firmness of character.

"In brief," writes Colonel Vachée, "an essentially personal conception, incessant meditation, an active and audacious mind, remarkable for its breadth but fundamentally practical, and a strong, stubborn, energetic will — such were the vigilant and laborious artisans who wove the woof of the decisions and plans of Napoleon." A few of the great but simple principles which governed his actions are given in his letter to Lauriston: "Always remember these three things: (1) Concentration of forces; (2) Activity; (3) A firm determination to perish with glory." To which might be added the postscript, written in his own hand, to the orders given Masséna at the beginning of the Eckmühl manœuvres in 1809: "Activity! Activity! Speed!"

In war the finest plan is of no value unless put into acts, and no one ever appreciated this fact more thoroughly than Napoleon. With him rapidity and vigor in execution were in no

way inferior to conception. The splendid combinations which threatened the existence of the armies of Wurmser, Mélas, Mack, and Brunswick, says Jomini, were in themselves skillful manœuvres and would alone have brought about the defeat of the enemy, but they would not have destroyed these armies without the brilliant execution, the vigor, and the rapidity which have astonished the world.

"Napoleon's art," writes Colonel Odeleben, "consisted above all in this, that in executing a plan . . . he chose with a strong, inflexible will the means which were calculated to lead him in the shortest time and in the most vigorous manner to his object. His redoubtable authority dispelled like an idle fancy every objection, every proof of impossibility."

It will be of interest to obtain as clear an idea as possible of the life at the great Imperial quarters during the years of glory, from 1805 to 1809.

Imperial quarters comprised two quite distinct departments: the Emperor's military household, and headquarters, which in turn was divided into the quarters of the Staff and the General Commissary of Stores.

The military household was made up of those in immediate attendance upon the Emperor: grand officers, generals, aides de camp, orderlies, secretaries, and so on, who, with their own attendants, had reached during the campaign of 1806 the enormous total of 800 persons. At a later date, the number was somewhat reduced.

In close intimacy with Napoleon in all his campaigns there were three persons: Berthier, who was at the same time Chief of Staff, Vice Constable, and Master of the Hounds; Duroc, the Grand Marshal of the Palace; and Caulaincourt, the Master of the Horse.

Berthier, with all of his faults, was admirably fitted for the position which he occupied in Napoleon's military family. "Berthier, small, stout, ever laughing, very full of business, and in love with Madame Visconti," is Desaix's description of him in the days of the first Italian campaign. From that time until

the abdication of Fontainebleau he was the inseparable companion of Napoleon in all of his campaigns, living under the same roof, sitting at his table and in his carriage, accompanying him everywhere whilst on his journeys and on the field of battle.

If we may believe the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Berthier was small, and awkwardly built. His head was a little too big for his body; his hands were naturally ugly, and he made them look worse by continually biting his nails. He stammered a good deal, and spoke with a strong nasal accent. His uniform fitted badly, and hung about his body.

Born at Versailles in 1753, he received a commission in the old Royal Army at the age of thirteen, and had seen thirty years of service when he became a member of General Bonaparte's staff in Italy in 1796. Versed in the details of military affairs almost from his cradle, he had the gift of drafting orders in a style so clear that no one could possibly mistake their meaning. Like Napoleon, his memory was prodigious, and his physical endurance such that he appeared never to require rest. His marvellous intuition enabled him to divine Napoleon's thoughts from a few disjointed words, and to work out the details of his conceptions in ordered perfection. At Saint Helena, Napoleon said of him: "His character was undecided, not strong enough for a commander-in-chief, but he possessed all of the qualities of a good chief of staff: a complete mastery of the map, great skill in reconnaissance, minute care in the despatch of orders, magnificent aptitude for presenting with the greatest simplicity the most complicated situation of an army."

Although he remained with the Emperor up to the last day at Fontainebleau, he refused to go to Elba, and accepted a position at the Royal Court. On the return of Napoleon, he retired to Bamberg in the dominions of his father-in-law. Here he was killed by a fall from a window, on the first day of June 1815. It is hardly too much to say that his absence from the side of the Emperor was largely the cause of the loss of the Waterloo campaign, for Soult was absolutely incompetent in the position of chief of staff. At Saint Helena, Napoleon said

BERTHIER, PRINCE DE NEUCHATEL

again and again: "If Berthier had been there, I should never have met that misfortune."

Duroc, Duc de Frioul, was another constant attendant of the Emperor. As Grand Marshal of the Palace he had the management of the Imperial household, which he ran with remarkable order and economy. Simple, true, modest, upright, disinterested, he was very useful to the Emperor, whose entire confidence he possessed. He was discretion itself, and was employed by Napoleon to look after his feminine fancies. He was often entrusted also with delicate diplomatic missions, which he always carried out to Napoleon's satisfaction. When he was killed at the side of the Emperor, during the Saxon campaign in 1813, Napoleon felt that he had lost a devoted friend and servant whom he could never replace.

The duties of the Chief Equerry, Caulaincourt, Duc de Vicence, included the superintendence of the stables, couriers, and pages. He accompanied the Emperor everywhere, both at Paris and on campaign. On the road he occupied the carriage which immediately preceded that of the Emperor. On the battle-field, he rode just behind Napoleon, carrying the map of the district, ready to be consulted.

"The Duc de Vicence," writes Castellane, "a man of five feet eight, has a severe and noble air; frank and loyal, he is loved and esteemed by all. The Emperor prizes him, but, as he tells him the truth, His Majesty prefers the Grand Marshal, who has a more complaisant disposition. He is an excellent general officer, very military in character."

According to Odeleben, Caulaincourt carried out his functions with "unparalleled exactitude and attention." He was almost always on horseback, and was constantly at the Emperor's side. Subsequent to the death of Duroc, he combined the duties of Grand Marshal with those of Chief Equerry. After Tilsit he was sent by the Emperor as ambassador to Russia; and Napoleon never forgot or forgave the frankness with which Caulaincourt, upon his return in June 1811, predicted the outcome of the Russian expedition.[10] At Saint Helena he said to

[10] See *Napoleon and Marie-Louise*, 261–266.

Gourgaud: "Caulaincourt had no intelligence; he did not know how to write, and was merely an excellent Chief Equerry." This was most unjust.

The military household included the Emperor's aides de camp and orderly officers. In 1806, the best known of these were Lemarois, who had been one of Napoleon's witnesses at the time of his marriage to Joséphine; General Bertrand, who later shared his exile at Elba and at Saint Helena; Savary and Rapp, two former aides de camp of Desaix, who had been with Napoleon since Marengo; and finally Mouton, an Alsatian like Rapp, with the same frankness and the same valor. Savary was an all-round man, who was employed at different times as soldier, diplomat, and detective, and one of whose duties was to watch over the Emperor's personal safety.

Included also in the household were four physicians, and as many surgeons, of whom the best known was Yvan, who followed Napoleon in all of his campaigns, and was invariably seen on horseback behind the Emperor.

Napoleon's personal domestic staff consisted of four valets de chambre, of whom the chief from 1800 to 1814 was Constant. He always assisted at the Emperor's toilette, and his help was indispensable, for, Napoleon was essentially "un homme à valet de chambre," to use Constant's own words.

The most intimate of Napoleon's servants was the Mameluke Roustan. He guarded his door at night, helped him on with his boots, and held the mirror while he shaved. He rode on the box of the Emperor's carriage, and followed him on the battle-field, bearing His Majesty's redingote, portmanteau, and field-flask.

The Emperor's stable was in charge of Jardin, who used all his skill in selecting and thoroughly schooling the horses ridden by Napoleon.

It only remains to speak of the Cabinet, and what strikes us most is the small number of men who formed the personal staff of the Emperor. Napoleon did not like new faces; consequently he had in fifteen years only three secretaries: Bourri-

enne, Méneval, and Fain. The former, a fellow-student at Brienne, was dismissed by Napoleon in 1802 for dishonesty; the two others remained with him until the end.

Another most important member of the staff was Bacler d'Albe, who was chief of the topographical bureau until 1813. It was he who had charge of the Emperor's maps and reports. No other officer — not even Berthier — was so closely associated with Napoleon's intellectual work, and no one contributed more to the success of the campaigns. He prepared the maps for the Emperor, indicating on them with pins of heads of different colors the positions of the different corps of the French army, and then the positions of the enemy so far as they were known. In this way he constantly prepared for Napoleon's eye the strategic chessboard, and his work was of the highest importance.

On campaign, on the eve of battle, most of Napoleon's work was done at night. Having generally retired after dinner, about eight o'clock, he arose at one or two in the morning, as soon as the daily reports reached headquarters. On a table in the room which served as a study Bacler d'Albe had spread out for him the best map of the seat of war, on which the colored pins indicated the latest positions of the forces. The map was lighted by twenty or thirty candles, and set very accurately to the points of the compass. It was on this that the Emperor worked, moving here and there his compasses, open to the scale of six to seven French leagues — a march. Often the large scale of the maps forced him to stretch his entire length on the table. In an hour or two he had made up his mind, and dictated and despatched his orders, which reached the commanders in time for the movements to begin at break of day.

The Emperor usually dictated to his secretaries, Méneval and Fain; to Clarke, Duroc, and Daru; or to his aides de camp. Shorthand was then unknown, and Napoleon dictated so rapidly that it was difficult for the scribes to keep pace with him. The writers immediately copied their rough drafts on the right-hand side of a sheet of double elephant paper divided into two.

On the other side, the secretary indicated the place, date, and hour; the name of the person to whom addressed; the name of the officer or courier who carried the despatch; the hour of his departure; and often a summary of the despatch. All this was for the files. The despatch was then transcribed on vellum-post, with gilt edge, little elephant size, and presented to the Emperor for his signature.[11]

Considering the small number of his secretarial staff, it is astonishing the amount of work Napoleon turned out. Besides directing his armies, he governed his Empire at the same time. In addition to the reports from his corps commanders, he received daily letters from his ministers at Paris, to all of which he replied promptly. His published *Correspondance* fills thirty-two large volumes, and yet only about one third of his letters have been printed.

Las Cases has given us an interesting account of Napoleon's method of work. He says:

"The Emperor worked very rapidly. Letters and business matters were set in order in advance and placed on the Emperor's table before his arrival in his cabinet. He quickly acquainted himself with everything. He settled many matters in silence, throwing away all that he considered worthless. He read all letters himself, replying to some by a few words on the margin, and in the case of the others dictating the reply. Those of great importance were always put on one side, *read twice, and never replied to until an interval had elapsed.* He believed in the maxim that *la nuit donne conseil,* a customary phrase with him."

Thus, thanks to an excellent method, great power of work, and the employment of every waking moment, Napoleon alone gave impulsion not only to his armies but to every department of his Empire.

When the Emperor was to spend the night in a town, the quartermaster-general went on ahead to make the necessary

[11] Format double elephant is about 12½ x 7¼ inches in size, little elephant about 9½ x 7.

arrangements. When three rooms could be placed at Napoleon's disposal, that was sufficient. The suite was then composed of the *salon de service,* the cabinet, and the bedroom. Any remaining rooms in the house were reserved for Berthier, Duroc, and Caulaincourt. Corners could always be found for the secretaries, and the surgeon, Yvan. When rooms were lacking, and they were quartered *à la Pologne,* as Napoleon expressed it, the officers on duty established themselves on the staircase, in the vestibule, or in the outhouses.

On several occasions, as at Austerlitz and Jena, the soldiers of the Guard constructed a straw shelter for the Emperor. But usually, when no building was available, the five Imperial tents, of blue and white striped canvas, were pitched in the midst of the square of the Guard. Two of these tents communicated and served, one as the Emperor's cabinet, the other as his bedroom. The third tent was reserved for Berthier, and the two others for the officers on duty.

In the Emperor's study were placed the maps, the portfolios containing papers, and the travelling library. The furniture consisted of a small writing-table, a folding-chair of red morocco for the Emperor, and two stools, for the secretary and the officer on duty. In the bedroom was erected the small iron camp-bed, with curtains of green silk fringed with gold. The foot-rug of the travelling-coach served for a *descente de lit,* and the dressing-case completed the furnishing. The tents of the Emperor were double — one inside the other — and the space between formed a kind of service-corridor, used by Constant and Roustan. The bed and all the furniture could be folded up, packed in leather covers, and transported on the backs of mules. The valets de pied were so expert that they could pitch the tents and arrange everything in a half-hour.

Napoleon's meals, served on a silver service bearing the Imperial arms, consisted of a dozen or more dishes. But the Emperor ate little, and drank only Chambertin, mixed with water. The repast rarely lasted more than twenty minutes. Napoleon's usual table companion was Berthier, or, in his absence, Duroc or Caulaincourt. The table was served by Con-

stant or Roustan. After dinner, Napoleon sometimes played a game of whist or of vingt-et-un. He was very fond of cheating at cards, but never kept the stakes.

In his campaigns Napoleon employed, according to circumstances, three different modes of transportation: his heavy travelling-coach, a light service calèche, and his saddle horses.

For long distances he used a heavy *berline de voyage*.[12] A calèche, drawn by relays of carriage-horses, was used for shorter distances, when the Emperor wished to travel rapidly from one corps of the army to another. Both of these vehicles contained only two places: one for the Emperor, the other for Berthier, or, in his absence, Duroc or Caulaincourt. On rare occasions, Napoleon invited Murat to join him. The Mameluke, Roustan, always rode on the box with the coachman. A few yards in front, there were two outriders, from the cavalry of the Guard, and two orderly officers. Near the right door of the carriage rode the equerry on duty; and by the left door, the officer in command of the escort. Behind, there galloped a group of aides de camp, orderly officers, and pages. Near the carriage there were always two led-horses, for the Emperor and the Prince de Neuchâtel. A page carried the Emperor's telescope; and another, a bag containing a writing pad, the maps, and the compasses. The escort usually comprised three squads of the chasseurs à cheval of the Guard.

When the Emperor abandoned his carriages, to move with his troops, the vehicles were left with the rear-guard and the baggage-train — what were called " les gros équipages." This section, in charge of an equerry, and under the escort of a picked detachment of the Guard, followed at an interval of two days' march.

When at a distance from the enemy, Napoleon remained at his headquarters, waiting until the corps had nearly reached the positions assigned them. Economical of his time, he calculated the hour of his departure in such a manner as to be at the head of his army at the very moment that his presence became

[12] See Vol. I, page 210.

necessary. As we have seen, everything was so arranged that time spent on the road was not lost.

When he was with his troops, the Emperor always used his saddle horses. He was only a mediocre horseman, riding with loose reins, without any leg action, and with curved back. Odeleben says that he rode like a "butcher." He held the reins in his right hand, with his left arm pendant. He never used spurs, but started his horse with a touch of the whip. He usually rode small Arabians, of a grayish-white color, good-tempered, gentle gallopers, and easy amblers. The horses, very well schooled, were trained with the greatest care by the groom Jardin, who accustomed them to all sorts of sounds and all kinds of objects.

Napoleon often rode at break-neck speed, and, if not a finished, was certainly a tireless horseman. On his return to France in January 1809, he covered the distance of eighty miles from Valladolid to Burgos in five hours. On this occasion he used a number of relays of horses, stationed at intervals of eight or ten miles. Each relay consisted of a "brigade" of nine horses: one for the Emperor, one for the Grand Écuyer, and the remaining seven for the equerry on duty, the secretary, the surgeon, the page, the groom, Roustan, and a servant.

A Geneva conscript by the name of Meyer has left us in his memoirs, published some twenty years ago, a graphic description of the Emperor passing at the head of his staff:

"After waiting half an hour, at the side of the road, we heard a confused murmur, and saw in the distance a great cloud of dust. The noise rapidly grew nearer, and all the soldiers, raising their shakos on the points of their bayonets, cried *Vive l'Empereur!* We saw the whole Imperial staff arrive, a number of at least eighty, all on horseback, each one finer than the last, and all covered with gold. The lieutenant had only time to say to me, 'There he is!' His white horse never galloped, for it had been trained to go only at a quick trot. The marshals and generals, however, came galloping forward. He wore his green coat of a chasseur of the Guard, with a little star, and his cross

of honor on his breast. There we have the way that this extraordinary man distinguished himself by his simplicity."

The days preceding a great battle, Napoleon was constantly in the saddle, observing the force and the position of the enemy, studying the field of battle, traversing the bivouacs of his army corps. Even at night, he rode the lines, to assure himself again of the enemy's forces by the number of the camp fires. In this way he wore out several horses in a few hours.

His power to guage a situation was most remarkable. "One look through his glass," says Odeleben, "and he had seized the picture of a whole army with incredible speed. From some height, he thus judged whole corps of fifty or sixty thousand men, according to space and position."

The day of the battle, Napoleon placed himself at a central point from which he could see everything that happened. He had near him his aides de camp and his orderly officers whom he sent to all points with his commands. Stationed a short distance behind him were four detachments of the Guard, one of each arm; but when he left this position he took for his escort only a platoon. He always announced his position to his marshals, in order that their messengers should easily find him. As soon as he thought that his presence was necessary on any part of the field, he proceeded there at full gallop.

Before adopting the legendary gray redingote, Napoleon protected himself against the cold of the bivouac with a light blue cloak, the "manteau de Marengo," which he always preserved. It covered his coffin at Saint Helena, and under it he now sleeps in the Invalides.

So long as Napoleon commanded small armies, and retained his abnormal nervous vigor, his desire to keep everything in his own hands was one of the chief elements of his success. But when his armies grew larger, and his physical force began to decline, his lack of a competent general staff led to failure. It was impossible for him to attend personally to such extensive details, and he had trained no subordinates to relieve him. Like many men of very positive character, Napoleon wanted around him only active, laborious, and obedient mediocrity. His nom-

inal chief of staff, Berthier, was little more than a very docile and efficient head clerk. His marshals were merely exceptional lieutenants: only a few, like Davout, Masséna, and Soult, were capable of independent command.

No other commander in history ever conceived such gigantic military plans, reduced their execution to such simplicity, and carried them through with such boldness and ability. "The qualities which go to make up the typical warrior," says Dodge, "were possessed by Napoleon in greater measure than in any other man of modern days, and so superior was he to his antagonists that he could not fail to win under anything like equal conditions."

At Saint Helena, Napoleon said: "Genius consists in carrying out things despite obstacles, and meanwhile in finding few or no impossibilities."

When, to Napoleon's clearness in conception, and boldness in execution, there be added his capacity for hard, unceasing work, we have a combination of qualities such as the world has rarely if ever seen.

III

The Man

The history of the world is full of men of vast achievements, reputed of transcendent intelligence, who owed their success to a surpassing energy actuating a mediocre brain. Their distinction was due, not to their intellectual talents, but to their ceaseless use of them. In the case of Napoleon we have an example of success due to a surpassing energy actuating a superior mind.

A century has not sufficed to show the full meaning of the life of Napoleon, nor has it produced any man comparable to him in force of will, energy, military genius, or even in sheer power of intellect.

Monsieur Taine was not happy in his description of Napoleon as a modern example of the Italian *condottiere* of the Fifteenth Century. The only trade of these chiefs of bands was fighting.

Napoleon indeed knew this *métier,* and better than any of the famous strategists of history, but he practiced it only to dominate. He was the prince, *il principe,* the master, and he was such by nature, by a power which was of the very essence of his being, and which he manifested from his earliest days. To Rœderer, he said: "I am indeed a military, because it is the particular gift that I received at birth; it is my existence, my habitude. Wherever I have been, I have commanded. I was born for that."

Appointed at the age of twenty-six to the command of the Army of Italy, Napoleon arrives at the headquarters at Albenga. Among the generals of division is Augereau, a coarse but heroic old soldier, proud of his tall stature and his bravery. From the descriptions that he has received of Bonaparte, he is far from well-disposed toward the "little upstart" sent them from Paris: "a favorite of Barras, the general of Vendémiaire, a general of the street." He tells his comrades that he will soon put this young man in his place.

After letting them wait, Bonaparte finally appears, buckling on his sword; he explains his plans, gives them his orders, and dismisses them. Augereau remains mute; it is only when outside that he recovers himself, and says, with a string of oaths, to Masséna: "I cannot understand how that little devil of a general frightened me: he crushed me with the first glance of his eye!"

In the case of General Vandamme, another old Revolutionary soldier, more energetic and more brutal even than Augereau, we find another instance of this ascendancy. Mounting the stairway of the Tuileries with General d'Ornano, one day in 1815, Vandamme, speaking of the Emperor, said: "My dear fellow, this devil of a man exercises over me a *fascination* which I am unable to explain. It is to such a point that I, who fear neither God nor devil, when I approach him I am ready to tremble like an infant; he could make me pass through the eye of a needle to go and throw myself in the fire."

Napoleon made the same impression on that woman of high

intelligence, Madame de Staël, who declares that she had in the presence of Bonaparte a very pronounced feeling of fear. Searching for a reason, she finds no other than "the singular effect of his personality upon nearly every one who approached him." And she adds: "*There was no one like him.*" The same effect on Chateaubriand, who recounts, after his first interview with the First Consul: "He made my hair stand on end."

There is something indefinable, something mysterious, in the immediate and constant effect of his personality upon others, but it is a fact acknowledged by everybody.

In speaking of Napoleon, Balzac never fails to mention his magnetism. Thus, in the *Femme de trente ans,* when the Emperor appears to pass his Guard in review in the court of the Tuileries: "Everybody shivered, everybody was stirred, everybody was moved. Even the walls of the high galleries of the ancient Louvre seemed also to cry: *Vive l'Empereur!* It was nothing human, it was sorcery, a phantom of Divine power."

Of what then does this magic power consist? Human experience shows us that the power to command may be possessed in some cases by persons of limited intelligence; but when joined to superiority of thought and will, we have the great general, the great statesman — in short, we have Napoleon.

In the case of the Emperor, we have the phenomenon of *survie agissante* (active survivorship) the most extraordinary in History. We have the example of a personality charged with such dynamic energy that it imposes itself across the ages, beyond death. It is an enigma which we must accept as an enigma, but it represents a force which justifies his permanent prestige.

"Here," writes Monsieur Paul Bourget, "here we have posed a question which it is important not to leave without an answer: With so many faculties, and such an acknowledged prestige, how and why did the Emperor fail in his task?"

Napoleon himself gives the reply. With that spirit of analysis which never failed him, he discerned the radical vice of his whole system, when he cried: "*Ah! if I were my grandson!*" What he lacked was the past. "One of his deepest regrets,"

says Metternich, "was that he could not invoke the principle of legitimacy as the basis of his power. Few men have felt more profoundly than he how much, without this foundation, authority is precarious and fragile, how exposed it is to attack."

His fall, with gifts which were almost miraculous, and his not less miraculous employment of those gifts, is a most striking proof of the fact that nations need durable institutions; and these institutions are not improvised, they are not created — they are inherited. Such is the great law of Space and Time. No theory, no genius, will ever prevail against it.

"Napoleon," writes Marshal Foch, "was beyond compare the military genius of modern times. . . . In the dark hours of the war we often asked ourselves: 'If Napoleon were to rise from his tomb at the Invalides, what would he say to us, what would he do with our armies to-day?' He would have said to us: 'You have millions of men; I never had them. You have railways, telegraphs, wireless, aircraft, long-range artillery, poison-gases; I had none of them. And you do not turn them to account! I'll show you a thing or two!' And, in a couple of months, he would have changed everything from top to bottom, reorganized everything, employed everything in some new way, and crushed the bewildered enemy. Then he would have come back at the head of his victorious armies — and would have been very much in the way."

In France, which Napoleon loved, which he served, but which he nearly ruined, the cult, not only of Napoleon the man, but of the Napoleonic legend, still thrives. France is no longer "Cæsarist," but in her large heart there is room for the faithful remembrance of the great figures of her heroic past. In her esteem, Napoleon stands on a par with Jeanne d'Arc. Democracies, it is said, are ungrateful; but France gives this saying the lie. In honoring the Great Emperor, she honors also herself, for his memory is a national possession of the highest value.

To-day, England also joins in the French tributes to the grandeur of Napoleon, for in him she found a foeman who

tested to the uttermost her fortitude and her valor. To him, Italy and Germany really owe their unification. Of the two, Germany is probably under the greater debt, since it was he who first broke her mediæval thraldom. From him, the struggles of people for independence, that marked the course of the Nineteenth Century, received their initial impulse; and in the Europe of to-day his influence is clearly to be descried.

No career in history has been so dramatic, few so moving as his. It covers just nineteen years. It began with the marvellous campaign of Italy in 1796; it ended in irretrievable ruin after Waterloo in 1815. Looking back when it was all over, from the lonely rock in the South Atlantic, he acknowledged his lifelong helplessness in the compelling grasp of Nemesis. "I may have had many plans," he said, "but I was never free to carry out any of them. It was all very well for me to hold the helm, but however strong was the hand that grasped it, the waves were much stronger still. I have never been really my master; I have always been controlled by circumstances."

Once he denied that he had ambition; then he corrected himself, and said that it was "so natural to him, so innate, so attached to his being, that it was like the blood that flowed in his veins, or the air that he breathed." It was far from being an ignoble ambition. "I love power," he confessed to Rœderer; "but I love power as an artist; I love it as a musician loves his violin." Again he said: "Power is my mistress; I have done too much to win her to allow her to be torn from me, or even to endure that others should covet her. . . . I have but one passion, but one mistress — France; I sleep with her, she has never failed me."

Yet he knew that his hold upon power was insecure; and thus Fate urged him constantly on to deeds that brought ruin in their train. He said to Metternich at Dresden in 1813: "Your sovereigns, born on the throne, may let themselves be beaten twenty times and go back to their capitals; I cannot, because I am an upstart soldier. My domination will not out-

live the day that I cease to be strong, and to be feared because I am strong."

In one of the illuminating bursts of confidence to which his temperament sometimes impelled him, Napoleon said: "There are two different men in me — the man of brains and the man of heart." This self-revelation was absolutely true. The man of brains has left an ineffaceable stamp on the destinies of the world; the man of heart is disclosed in his relations with his insufferable brothers and sisters, with Joséphine, and with Marie-Louise.

Of the Austrian woman, the less said the better. Napoleon's marriage with her was an act of policy, but he became attached to her, and he deeply loved their little son. Although he knew at Saint Helena that she was the mistress of Neipperg, he always spoke of her with affection and respect.

Joséphine was a woman of her time: perverted by the almost universal corruption that followed the breaking up of all laws; a woman of the society of Barras and of Madame Tallien. Monsieur Masson says that she was a "crowned courtesan." Perhaps; but she was a woman of incomparable grace, charm, and tact. She conquered Napoleon, and she was really the only woman in his life: he loved her to the end, and her name was the last one that he pronounced on earth. His letters to her, written amidst the thousand labors, cares, and dangers of his campaigns, are an enduring testimonial to his affection. A woman who hated him declares in her memoirs: "There is no woman who would not have prized such letters."

But Joséphine, by her infidelity, finally killed his first passionate love, and his later letters were entirely commonplace. It has been well said that the Emperor wrote her about the events that convulsed Europe in the tone of a commercial traveller to his wife. After the great battles he gives her a résumé of the operations, and concludes with the simplest of personal details: "My affairs are going well," is a customary phrase. After the capture of Ulm, he says: "Never has there been such a catastrophe in military annals. Take care of yourself. I am

rather fatigued. The weather has been fine for the past three days." After the great victory of Austerlitz: "I have beaten the Russian and Austrian armies commanded by the two Emperors. I am a little tired, as I bivouacked for a week in the open air, and the nights are rather chilly." After Friedland: "Mon amie, I write you only a word, for I am very tired. My children have kept the anniversary of Marengo as it deserved." The morning after Wagram: "The victory is decisive and complete. . . . I am sunburnt!"

His proclamations are immortal, notwithstanding their bombast, their frequent bad taste. "Soldiers, in two weeks you have won six victories. . . . But, soldiers, you have done nothing, since there is more for you to do!" Pointing to the Pyramids, as his men went into action, he exclaimed: "Forty centuries look down upon you!" On his return from Elba he issued this irresistible call to his veterans: "Victory will march onward at the charge. The Eagle will fly from steeple to steeple to the towers of Notre-Dame!" "The King should write like that," cried the hesitating Ney; "that is the way to talk to soldiers, and to stir them."

In all Napoleon's wonderful career there is no scene more thrilling than that in which by word and action he subdued and won over the first of the troops sent to stay him on his return from Elba. Theatrical it may have been, but who besides this mighty player would have had the daring, the skill, the profound knowledge of the heart, to play that desperate rôle? For this man knew human nature as thoroughly as Shakespeare, and could play upon it with the same sure touch.

To this greatest of leaders, leadership naturally is the sovereign spell. "In war," he says, "men are nothing; it is the *man* who is everything. The general is the head, the all of an army. It was not the Roman army that conquered Gaul, but Cæsar; it was not the Carthaginian army that made Rome tremble in her gates, but Hannibal; it was not the Macedonian army that reached the Indus, but Alexander; it was not the French army that carried the war to the Weser and the Inn,

but Turenne; it was not the Prussian army which, for seven years, defended Prussia against the three greatest Powers of Europe, but Frederick the Great."

And the great actor knew how thin is the line between the magniloquent and the commonplace. *Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas,* he once said. When the beautiful Queen Louise was brought to Tilsit that she might wheedle him into returning Magdeburg to Prussia, "I begged her," he says, "to sit down. There is no better interruption to a tragic scene; for when people are sitting it becomes comedy." His amusing rebuff to Madame de Staël was less courteous, but it was equally adroit and much better deserved.

Like Bismarck, Napoleon was a great believer in "publicity," and like him he wrote or inspired many articles. Journalists should study him, for he was the greatest master of the craft. He had not only the French *Moniteur,* but also Italian and German editions of the same paper, in which his bulletins and his articles were published. All his writings were vivid, incisive, adroit, nicely calculated for the moment, and for the minds to which they were addressed. That they were not always true, he cared little, so long as they produced the desired effect.

Metternich testifies to the charm of his conversations, lasting far into the night, as they paced the deserted galleries of Compiègne. In these heart-to-heart talks, the Emperor displayed the brilliancy of his imagination, as he discussed his immense projects, and never failed in the end to betray his *parvenu* origin. But, of this, he was not ashamed. "The House of Bonaparte," he wrote the *Moniteur,* "dates from the 18 Brumaire."

No human being was ever the subject of such adulation as Napoleon: "only the praises of an idolatrous people, prostrated before their gods, could be compared to the panegyrics declaimed in honor of the Emperor." Upon his return from Tilsit in 1807, he was welcomed by Séguier, who declared, in the course of his address: "Napoleon is beyond human history; he belongs to heroic times, he is above admiration." Even La Place

wrote, six years later, in one of his scientific works: "Thanks to the genius of the Emperor, all Europe will soon form but one immense family, united by the same religion and the same code of laws; and posterity, which will enjoy to the full these advantages, will pronounce only with admiration the name of the hero, its benefactor." In his turn, Molé cried: "If a man of the time of the Médicis or of the century of Louis Quatorze were to return on earth, and, at the view of so many marvels, were to ask how many glorious reigns, how many ages of peace, were necessary to produce them, you would reply that twelve years of war and a single man had been sufficient."

That Napoleon did not like these hyperboles, may be affirmed without hesitation. He endured them, as he endured the irksome etiquette of the Imperial Court, as a part of his *system*. No man ever cared less than he for pomp and ceremony. At the end of his campaigns, he always refused to enter Paris at the head of his victorious troops. In 1814, he wrote Joseph: "I have never sought for the plaudits of the Parisians; I am not a character of Opéra." As early as the first campaign in Italy, Marmont wrote: "General Bonaparte was insensible to the glory of entering Rome as a victor." In fact, although Napoleon at different times occupied nearly every capital in Europe, he never entered any one of them in triumph, with the single exception of Berlin, in October 1806.

Among the words of Napoleon we find many expressions of his disdain for human grandeurs. In the midst of the continuous round of splendid receptions arranged for him during his tour of the Low Countries with Marie-Louise in 1811, the Emperor said to the Duc de Vicence: "It is the job of a galley-slave! I would prefer ten campaigns to the life I have led for the past month."

In 1802, the General Council of the Seine voted 600,000 francs for the erection on the site of the Châtelet of a triumphal portico in honor of the First Consul. In response to this homage, Bonaparte wrote: "I have seen with gratitude the sentiments which animate the magistrates of the city of Paris.

I accept the offer of the monument which you wish to raise; let the site remain designated; but let us leave the care of constructing it to centuries to come, if they ratify the good opinion that you have of me."

In 1807, the models and sketches of the new Italian coins were submitted to the Emperor. The design bore the legend: *Napoleone protegge l'Italia.* On the margin of the descriptive document, the Emperor wrote with his own hand: "This style is not appropriate: what they propose to substitute for *Dieu protège* is indecent."

When, in the inscriptions of the Arc de Triomphe, the Institute proposed to give the Emperor the titles of Augustus and Germanicus, Napoleon wrote: "The title of the Emperor is that of *Empereur des Français.* He therefore wishes no assimilation: neither the title of *Augustus,* nor that of *Germanicus,* nor even that of *Cæsar.*"

If Napoleon had cared more for his Imperial prerogatives, in 1814 he might have made "peace with honor," and preserved his throne. He did not wish it: he placed his dignity far above his vanity. He wrote his envoy, Caulaincourt: "I would prefer to see the Bourbons in France to the infamous propositions that you send me!"

Great as the man was, and unflinching as was his courage, he felt the burden that he carried. At Saint Helena, he said: "All the time I have borne the world upon my shoulders, and the task, in the end, is fatiguing." — "All my life long I have sacrificed everything to my destiny: peace of mind, personal advantage, happiness." — "I have given up all my personal pleasures to be what I am."

And few have realized that this man, who withstood such blows from Fortune as would have racked and shattered most minds, had a very sensitive disposition. He acknowledged it himself. To Rœderer he said: "I have very unmanageable nerves. . . . There is not a man more pusillanimous than myself, when I make a military plan. I exaggerate all the dangers and all the misfortunes possible under the circumstances.

I am in a most painful state of agitation: *je suis comme une fille qui accouche!*" But this did not prevent him from appearing, to those around him, very calm. The resolution once formed, all was forgotten in the vigor of its execution.

Impassible on the field of battle, cool and collected in his diplomatic negotiations, Napoleon's nerves failed him nevertheless on many occasions. "I have very irritable nerves," he said, "and, with this disposition, if my blood did not flow very slowly, I should run the risk of becoming mad." In fact, his physician, Corvisart, told Madame de Rémusat that the pulse of the Emperor was much slower than the ordinary average with men.

Often the tension of his nerves resulted in a physical convulsion, and this was doubtless the basis of the reports, at one time quite generally believed, that Napoleon had epilepsy. In his work, *Au chevet de l'Empereur,* Dr. Cabanès denies that Napoleon ever was afflicted with this malady; and his statement is supported by the best medical evidence.

After Napoleon's return from the death-bed of Marshal Lannes, "I saw him," writes Constant, "weep during his déjeuner; large tears rolled down his cheek, and fell in his plate." He displayed the same emotion during the Saxon campaign of 1813, on the occasions of the deaths of Duroc and of Bessières. In 1808, at a meeting of the Council of State, in speaking of the capitulation of Baylen, his voice broke, and his eyes filled with tears.

In parting from Joséphine at Mayence, just prior to the opening of the campaign of Prussia, Napoleon's emotions brought on a nervous convulsion, which lasted for a quarter of an hour. He had a similar attack in the autumn of 1808, when he decided to divorce Joséphine. He sent for the Empress, who was dressing for a reception at the Tuileries, and tenderly embraced her, crying: "Pauvre Joséphine, je ne pourrai jamais te quitter!" He takes her in his arms, insists upon her undressing, and passing the night by his side. In the words of Joséphine, "he bathed the bed with his tears."

On at least two occasions, these nervous attacks nearly re-

sulted in disaster. At Saint-Cloud, on the 19 Brumaire, "at the cries of *hors la loi,* he grew pale, trembled, and seemed absolutely to lose his head; it was necessary to conduct him out of the hall; for an instant it was thought that he was about to succumb." On his way to the Coast, after the abdication at Fontainebleau, he was entirely unmanned by the threats of the Royalists of Provence, and displayed the same physical horror of mob violence.

Supreme in intellect, energy, and power of will, Napoleon, in his moral nature, was very human. He had the virtues and the vices of thousands in every condition and in every age: his good and bad instincts; his family affection; his loves, regular and irregular; his innate taste for order; his kindliness in private life; his genuine wishes for the welfare of the masses; his ambition, and his desire for power. "Amidst the distractions of his many-sided career," writes Professor Rose, "he figured as one of the best of sons, one of the kindest of brothers. . . . No other founder of a dynasty has done so much for his relatives. Napoleon alone raised his mother, brothers, sisters, and uncle to heights of splendor." [13]

All the authorities agree that the education of Napoleon was very defective. Of Brienne, Bourrienne writes: "It is impossible to conceive how even one capable man issued from that institution of education." His instruction in the Classics was rudimentary: "for the languages and the belles-lettres he had no disposition." At the École Militaire, also, the teaching he received was less than mediocre. But he was very strong in mathematics, history, and geography.

In all things, it was by practice, not by speculation, that he learned, like a mechanic educated amidst machinery. "There is nothing in war," he said to Rœderer, "which I cannot do myself. If there is no one to make gunpowder, I know how to manufacture it; if it is necessary to cast cannon, I can do it; if it is necessary to teach the details of the drill, I am capable of doing it."

In every place, on every subject, his curiosity, his avidity is

[13] Rose, *Personality of Napoleon,* 32, 35.

insatiable, and his memory is prodigious. In every department of the government, he knows more than the minister; in every bureau he knows as much as the head clerk. His daily and preferred reading consists of his *états de situation,* the reports of his Army and his Navy, drawn up according to his plan, and renewed the first of each month. "I have not memory enough to retain a single Alexandrian verse," he said, "but I never forget a syllable of my reports." Better than his ministers of War and of the Marine, better than his staff, he knows every minute detail of the composition, organization, personnel, matériel, of each army corps and of each regiment. The same, in finances, in diplomacy, in all the branches of his administration. His memory of places and scenes is marvellous, and he can recall at will, after the lapse of years, the topography of a terrain as though he had studied it the preceding day. His calculation of distances, of marches and of manœuvres, is a mathematical operation so rigorous that frequently, at a distance of two or three hundred leagues, after the lapse of several months, his military project is accomplished, almost on the day fixed, exactly at the place designated.

Bourrienne says: "He had little memory for proper names, words, or dates, but for *facts and localities* it was prodigious." The 17 March 1800, fixing pins on a map in his cabinet at the Tuileries, he showed his secretary where he counted on beating Mélas. On the 14 June, almost three months to a day from that date, he gained on that terrain the victory of Marengo! We have already mentioned how, at his headquarters on the Channel, in August 1805, he dictated the complete plan of his campaign against Austria. "The fields of battle," says Ségur, "the victories, even the very days that we were to enter Munich and Vienna, all was then announced; . . . if there were some differences of time, and not of results, they were in our favor."

In war, as in chess, to achieve success one must constantly play his opponent's game as well as his own; otherwise he will continually see his most brilliant combinations fail, because his adversary is not considerate enough to make the move that he

desires or expects. No commander ever appreciated this fact better than Napoleon: he never made a move until he was satisfied, after a careful study of the position, not only that it was the best manœuvre possible under the circumstances, but also that he was prepared to meet any reply which his adversary might make. "Like the celebrated chess-masters," writes Monsieur Taine, "he had correctly evaluated, aside from the mechanical manipulation of the pieces, the character and the talent of his opponent, *sondé son tirant d'eau,* divined his probable errors; to the calculation of physical quantities and probabilities, he had joined the calculation of moral quantities and probabilities, and he showed himself a great psychologist as well as an accomplished strategist."

There is only one man in history of qualities sufficiently varied and forceful to challenge comparison with Napoleon. The figure of Julius Cæsar dominates the Roman world as that of the great Corsican overshadows the age of the French Revolution. Take them all in all, as soldiers, statesmen, law-givers, Cæsar and Napoleon are the two greatest characters in history. But, for lack of documents, we have, of Cæsar, only the general lineaments, a summary outline; while, of Napoleon, we have the traits in minutest detail.

To cite Monsieur Taine once again: In his brilliant study of Napoleon, in the *Régime moderne,* he says: There were in the brain of Napoleon, always at his command, three *atlases,* each one composed of "twenty large tomes," constantly written up to date. — "The first was military, and comprised an enormous collection of topographical maps, as minute as those of a general staff, with the detailed plans of all the strong-places; with the specific designations and the local distributions of all the forces of land and sea. . . . — The second, which was civil, resembled those large volumes, in which, to-day, we read each year the state of the budget, . . . and all the administrative statistics. . . . — The third was a gigantic biographical and moral dictionary, in which, as in the pigeon-holes of the Upper Police, was recorded every individual of note, each local group, every

class professional or social, with an abbreviated indication of their situations, their needs, their antecedents. . . . "

These three "atlases," as voluminous as they were, were all imprinted on the brain of Napoleon — not merely the general résumé, but every specific detail. And they covered, not only ancient France, but the whole extent of the Grand-Empire — Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Westphalia, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with seventy thousand square leagues of territory, and sixty million inhabitants!

What most characterized Napoleon, among other things, says Rœderer, was not only the penetration and the universality of his intelligence, but also, and above all, its flexibility: "the force and the constancy of his attention. He could pass eighteen hours continuously at work, at the same task, at different tasks. I have never seen his mind exhausted. . . . No man was ever more entirely absorbed in what he was doing, or better divided his time among the things he had to do."

The world has never seen a brain so well-disciplined and so disposable, so perpetually ready for every task, so capable of sudden and complete concentration. "While he is taken up with an object," writes the Abbé de Pradt, "the rest, for him, does not exist; it is a kind of hunt from which nothing can turn him aside."

His collaborators bent and broke under the tasks that he imposed upon them, and which he himself bore without feeling the weight. Often, at Saint-Cloud, he kept the counsellors of State from nine in the morning to five in the afternoon, with an intermission of a quarter-hour, and seemed no more fatigued at the end of the session than at the beginning. During the Consulate, he frequently presided over meetings of his ministers from ten o'clock at night to five in the morning. At one of these night sessions, several of the ministers fell asleep. He awakened them with the cry: "Come! come! citizens, wake up; it is only two o'clock; we must earn the money paid us by the French people! "

Mollien says, in his memoirs: "He is the head of everything; he governs, he administers, he negotiates, he gives to work each day eighteen hours of the clearest and best organized of heads; in three years he has governed more than the kings in a hundred years."

Sir Neil Campbell, the English commissioner at Elba, writes in his *Journal:* "I have never seen a man, in any condition of life, with so much personal activity, and so much perseverance in activity. . . . Yesterday, after having been on his legs from eight o'clock in the morning until three of the afternoon, visiting the frigates and transports, he rode for three hours, *pour se défatiguer,* as he said to me afterwards."

If Napoleon had not been a great general, he might have been a great actor: he could play all rôles, tragic or comic, with the same *verve:* in turn fulminating, insinuating, and even *bonhomme.* With a person whom he wishes to charm, like Alexander, or Pius the Seventh, the tone of his conversation is familiar, caressing, expansive, amiable. With his generals and his ministers he employs the positive and technical style of affairs: his tone is imperious, curt, and often rude. For his soldiers and for the people, his bulletins, proclamations, and addresses are calculated to excite their enthusiasm and keep up their credulity; a sort of *vin fumeux,* which the great public loves to drink, and upon which it becomes intoxicated. Under all circumstances, his style manifests his marvellous knowledge of masses and of individuals.

In a well-known passage of the *Régime moderne,* Monsieur Taine compares the France of Napoleon to a great edifice, of which he was the architect, as well as the proprietor and principal occupant, from 1799 to 1814: "He made modern France; never has an individual character so profoundly impressed his mark upon a collective work."

Accepting this statement, which it is impossible to refute, it is difficult to understand how a man of Napoleon's great intelligence continued year after year to add another badly constructed story to his already shaking edifice. "General," said

Madame de Clermont-Tonnerre to him one day, "you are building behind a scaffolding which you will have demolished when you have finished." "Yes, madame, it is like that," replied Bonaparte; "you are correct, *je ne vie jamais que dans deux ans!*"

His attitude seems to have been that of the ancient French proverb: *Après moi, le déluge!* As the years rolled around, he never seemed to think of putting France in a state to subsist without him; on the contrary, he compromised the durable acquisitions by unstable annexations, so that it was evident, almost from the first days, that the Empire would end with the Emperor. In 1805, when the five per cent. *rentes* were selling at 80, his minister of Finances, Gaudin, made the remark to him that this discount was reasonable, "puisque ces fonds sont en viager sur la tête de Votre Majesté." — "What do you mean?" — "I wish to say that the Empire has been successively enlarged to the point where it will be impossible to govern after you." — "If my successor is an imbecile, so much the worse for him." — "Yes, but also so much the worse for France."

Two years later, Metternich wrote Stadion: "It is remarkable that Napoleon has not yet taken a single step tending to secure the existence of his successors." In 1809, the same diplomat adds: "His death will be the signal for a new and frightful *bouleversement*." In 1811: "Every one is convinced that the first, the inevitable consequence of the disappearance of Napoleon, of the master in whom alone all force is concentrated, will be a revolution." In his lucid moments, Napoleon was of the same opinion. At a session of the Council of State, he remarked: "All that will endure as long as myself; my son will consider himself happy to have an income of 40,000 francs."

At this same date, in France, even the most faithful servants of Napoleon had begun to think that the Empire was *viager*, and would not endure after his death; and some, like Fouché and Talleyrand, had come to the conclusion that the Empire would fall even during his lifetime; for he was continually add-

ing to his edifice, and what the building gained in height, it lost in stability. Marmont reports in his memoirs that, on his return from Wagram (1809), Decrès said to him: "The Emperor is crazy, entirely mad; as many as we are, he will ruin us all, and this will end in a frightful catastrophe."

What kind of a man was Napoleon physically? If you place side by side the portrait of General Bonaparte by Guérin and that of the Emperor by Isabey, you will be struck by their absolute contrast; it will be difficult for you to find in the two faces some rare points of resemblance.

In the first, the forehead, concealed by a heavy fringe of hair, is scarcely visible. The eyes are sunken; the lips, pinched; the skin like parchment. The figure is emaciated.

In the crayon of Isabey, the thin, flat form has become well-rounded; the angular visage is now oval. The hair, cut short, reveals the fine forehead, with the well-known lock of hair falling over it. The eyes are prominent; the mouth partly opened, with the lower lip falling slightly. In a word, it is an entirely different man.

Napoleon did not have the little figure which has become almost a part of his legend. His soldiers of the Army of Italy had indeed baptized him the *Petit Caporal,* but it was on account of his youth and his frail appearance. Like Frederick the Great, he liked to surround himself with tall men, and the crowd, who saw him from a distance, thought that he was small, by comparison with the gigantic stature of the majority of the generals of his staff. As already stated, on his death-bed at Saint Helena Napoleon measured over 5 feet 6 inches.

His neck was short; his bust long, and largely developed; his legs short; his hands and feet small, and well-formed. His head was unusually large — 22 inches (French) in circumference. His head was very sensitive, and Constant states that it was one of his duties to break-in the new hats, by wearing them for several days, before giving them to the Emperor.

When Constant, the first valet de chambre, entered the Emperor's bedroom at the Tuileries, at seven o'clock in the morning, his eye fell upon a scene of confusion. Napoleon's ideas of order do not seem to have extended to the act of disrobing, and with him the solemn etiquette of the *coucher des rois* was more honored in the breach than in the observance. Every article of his dress was thrown *à tort et à travers:* his hat upon a console; his coat and the grand cordon, over the back of a chair; other garments, upon the floor.

As Constant opened the curtains, the Emperor's first questions were as to the hour, and the weather. The sole luxury which Napoleon permitted himself, at his *lever*, was a fire, both summer and winter, in his dressing-room. He loved heat, even to the point of taking his bath "at so high a temperature that the thick vapor filled the room, and made it necessary to open all the doors." His bath finished, Napoleon was rubbed down with eau de Cologne. During this operation, the Emperor conversed freely with his valet, asking him about the news and the gossip of the town. His questions were frequently interrupted by the entry of the first physician of the Court. "There you are, great charlatan!" cried the Emperor; "have you killed many people to-day?" "Dr. Corvisart," says Roustan, in his memoirs, "was not at all abashed, and replied in a similar tone."

Clad in a *pantalon* and dressing-gown of soft white flannel, wearing the madras which covered his head at night, Napoleon shaved himself, before a glass held by his valet. His dislike of everything English did not extend to his razors, which were specially imported for him from Sheffield. At an earlier date, he had been shaved by his valet; but his quick movements resulted in many bad cuts, and he was finally persuaded to learn to shave himself.

His toilette completed, the Emperor put on his uniform, which he usually wore all day. His ordinary costume was that of the chasseurs à cheval of his Guard: a green coat, with red facings; white waistcoat and breeches; white silk stockings; and low shoes, with gold buckles, when in the house, or soft

riding-boots, when he went out. He always wore the broad red cordon of the Légion d'honneur, with the cross and the plaque upon his left breast, and generally, in addition, the cross of the Couronne de fer of Italy. These were his regular decorations, and he rarely used any others.

When dressed, Napoleon was given his shell snuff-box, which he had nearly always in his hand, and he passed into his cabinet, where his secretaries awaited him. After disposing of the current correspondence, he began to dictate his replies to the more important despatches, which had been laid over for his reflection. It was then that he began to promenade up and down the room. Meanwhile, he took his breakfast, which was served on a small stand in his cabinet.

Napoleon did not like new faces around him, and in fifteen years there were but few changes in the personnel of his household. From 1801 to 1814, he always had the same valet de chambre, Constant, who lost his position at Fontainebleau, after the abdication, for having embezzled the sum of 100,000 francs from the Emperor's private purse. He was succeeded by Marchand, who accompanied Napoleon to Saint Helena, and who was one of the executors of his will.

During his entire public career, Napoleon had only three private secretaries: Bourrienne, Méneval, and Fain. This proves that the Emperor was not the terrible task-master so generally depicted by his detractors. Nor were these the only cases. Take the Annuaire impériale for the year 1812, and you will find an endless list of those who had been closely associated with Napoleon from the days of the Consulate, and even before. You will read the names of: Lebrun, Cambacérès, Fouché, Talleyrand, Duroc, Berthier, Junot, Marmont, Clarke, Regnier, Gaudin, Decrès, Mollien, Maret, Réal, Regnault, Fontanes, and countless others. All of these men, by their continuous services, prove the correctness of the evidence, given by secretaries and domestics, that Napoleon, at home, was a man of regular habits, easy to serve, peaceful rather than violent — in brief, exactly the opposite of the brutal, despotic being pictured by the English writers. "He had," writes Caulaincourt, "a

great and rare quality — he did not like changes; he held on to the men that he employed." [14]

Having finished the work of his cabinet, Napoleon descends the steep, narrow, winding staircase, to the apartment of the Empress on the ground floor. As he goes, he hums, entirely out of tune, his favorite refrains, of not very elevated taste, such as:

"Ah! c'en est fait, je me marie,"

or even:

"Non, non, z'il est impossible
D'avoir un plus aimable enfant."

When he encounters, on his way, employés of the palace, he never fails to salute them politely. "Always extremely courteous toward every one," writes Mlle. Avrillon, "he never received the smallest service without expressing his thanks, and he invariably addressed his valets as *monsieur*. It was the same when the Emperor visited the Empress; he never spoke to us except with politeness and often with kindliness."

"In the apartment of the Empress, Napoleon showed himself amiable, gay, familiar. Assisting at her toilette, he took pleasure in tormenting her, pinching her cheek and neck. If she became annoyed, he took her in his arms, kissed her, called her *grosse bête,* and peace was made." This description is from the pen of Madame Durand, maid of honor to Marie-Louise.

In the days of Joséphine, the scene was much the same, except that he was somewhat freer with her than with the "daughter of the Cæsars," who always inspired him with a little awe. "Often he gave us a little tap, or pulled our ears," writes Mlle. Avrillon, a femme de chambre of Joséphine. "Very frequently he did the same to the Empress when we were dressing her: he gave her some taps playfully upon the shoulders. It was useless for her to cry: *Finis donc, finis donc, Bonaparte!* he continued as long as the play amused him."

[14] Caulaincourt, *Mémoires, Revue des Deux Mondes,* 15 septembre 1928, page 398.

It may be remarked, *en passant,* that Joséphine never got over the habits of her early married life, and invariably addressed Napoleon as *Bonaparte.*

The pleasures of the table did not exist for Napoleon. He ate sparingly, and very quickly; and he never drank anything but Burgundy wine, mixed with water. He was specially fond of shirred eggs, salads, and cheese; he disliked ragoûts. "On campaign," writes Duroc, "the table was served with a soup, a boiled meat, a roast and vegetables; no dessert."

At Paris, dinner was served at six o'clock. The Emperor rarely remained at the table more than twenty minutes; at the end of that time, he departed, leaving the Empress and the other guests to finish the meal at their leisure.

The Emperor himself regulated methodically the composition, the price, and the duration of the articles of his wardrobe, in which there were: five uniforms, at 360 francs each; two hunting costumes, and a single *habit bourgeois.* Each of these costumes was to last three years. Everything is covered by this list: the four dozen flannel waistcoats, of which a new one is to be given him each week; the same number of handkerchiefs, of which he uses a dozen a week; six madras, to last three years, and to be changed every month. After he has carefully listed all of these articles, Napoleon adds: "Nothing will be spent except with the approval of His Majesty." As Carlyle writes in one of his essays, Napoleon was indeed: *Rex,* regulator.

APPENDIX

A Bassano to Reinhard

B Jérôme to the King of Würtemberg

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APPENDIX

A

Bassano to Reinhard

MAYENCE, 4 November 1813

THE Queen [Catherine] has displeased the Emperor by her conduct at Paris. The King will avoid disagreements and new grievances by having the Queen rejoin him. His Majesty has learned recently, and has not heard it without displeasure, that the Queen is occupied with men of affairs for the purchase on account of the King of mansions of pleasure-resort in the environs of Paris, and notably of the château of Stains. Under the Family Statute, a prince who has ascended a foreign throne can own nothing in France without the permission of the Emperor. The projects of the King are therefore irregular. Besides this, they are the objects of public derision. It is difficult for people to understand how a king in his position should devote himself to projects entirely personal at a moment when France is occupied only with sacrifices to save the honor of the Nation.

B

Jérôme to the King of Würtemberg

COMPIEGNE, 8 December 1813

The Kingdom of Westphalia was formed with the concurrence of Russia and Prussia. It has been recognized by all the Powers at present at war with France. All of the acts emanating from their authority accept it as existing; and, in fact, I do not see, in the war of the Allies against France, in what respect my quality of a French prince can affect the conservation of my kingdom, even in the event of the peace resulting in changes in the political constitution of Germany, to which I should not hesitate to subscribe. I flatter myself that my frank manner of thought and action, well known to all of the European sovereigns, should be to them a guarantee of the sincerity

of my adhesion to all which may be judged necessary for the maintenance of the independence of Germany . . . I do not ignore the fact that the plans and combinations which the Allies have conceived, to reach this end, may be susceptible of bringing about some changes in the actual limits of my kingdom, and I do not hesitate to declare to Your Majesty that I will equally subscribe to them, counting sufficiently upon their justice to believe that suitable indemnities will be offered.

C

Joseph to Napoleon

MORTEFONTAINE, 30 November 1813

Sire, reflection has served only to fortify my first thought. The reëstablishment of the Bourbons in Spain will have the most calamitous consequences, both for Spain and for France. Prince Ferdinand, on arriving in Spain, can do nothing for France, he can do everything against her. . . . As for myself, Sire, let Your Majesty deign for a moment to suppose yourself in my place, you will easily feel what my conduct should be. Called ten years ago to the throne of Lombardy [*sic*]; having occupied that of Naples with some happiness; that of Spain in the midst of obstacles of every kind, and, in spite of them, having been able to conciliate the esteem of the nation; persuaded as I am that, so long as the dynasty of Your Majesty shall reign in France, Spain can be happy only through me, or by a prince of your blood, I cannot divest myself of the only benefits which remain to me — the testimonial of a conscience without reproach, and the sentiment of my own dignity. . . .

D

Joseph to Napoleon

MORTEFONTAINE, 29 December 1813

Sire, the violation of the Swiss territory has opened France to the enemy. Under such circumstances, I desire that Your Majesty be convinced that my heart is entirely French. Brought back to France by events, I should be happy to be able to be of some use to her, and I am ready to undertake anything to prove my devotion to her. I know also, Sire, what I owe to Spain; I see my duty, and I wish to

fulfill it completely. I know no claims superior to those of sacrifice for the general good of humanity, and I shall be happy if, by such sacrifice, I can contribute to the pacification of Europe. I desire that Your Majesty may be good enough to instruct one of your ministers to take up this subject with M. le Duc de Santa Fé, my minister of Foreign Affairs.

E

Napoleon to Joseph

PARIS, 7 January 1814

My brother, I have received your letter. There is too much cleverness in it for the position in which I find myself. Here, in two words, is the situation: France is invaded; all Europe is under arms against France, but above all against me. You are no longer King of Spain; I have no need of your renunciation, because I do not wish Spain for myself, nor do I desire to dispose of it; besides, I no longer wish to be mixed up with the affairs of that country except to live in peace with it and to have my army at my disposal. What do you wish to do? Do you desire, as a French prince, to come and take your stand by the Throne? You have my friendship, your appanage, and you will be my subject in your quality of Prince of the Blood. It is necessary then to do like myself: to acknowledge your rôle; to write me a simple letter which I can print; to receive all the powers; and to show yourself zealous for me and for the King of Rome, friendly to the Regency of the Empress. Is not that possible for you? Have you not sufficient good judgment for that? Otherwise, you must retire to an obscure provincial château forty leagues from Paris. If I live, you will reside there tranquilly. If I die, you will be slain, or arrested. You will be useless to me, to the Family, to your daughters, to France; but you will not be a nuisance to me, and you will not hamper me. Make your choice promptly, and take your stand. All sentimental questions are useless and unseasonable.

F

Joseph to Napoleon

[No date]

Sire, the invasion of France imposes on every Frenchman the obligation to fly to her defence; and the noble prerogative of flying

the first to the defence of the Throne and the Fatherland is imposed above all upon those whom she has raised to so high a rank. As premier French Prince, and, in that quality, your premier subject, permit me, Sire, to pray you to accept the offer of my arm and of my counsel. I shall esteem myself happy, in any manner that you may judge best to direct me, if I can contribute to render to France, to whom I owe everything, the tranquillity and the happiness of which all Europe has need. Under the existing circumstances, I see only the dangers of the Fatherland; every good Frenchman should throw aside every other sentiment. You will yet save France, Sire, if all the French people place at the service of your Throne the same devotion as that with which I offer you my services.

G

Louis to Napoleon

GRATZ, 1 January 1813

Profoundly afflicted by the sufferings and the losses of the Grand Army, which has borne the French arms even to the Pole; easily able to judge how much you are pressed, how urgent it is to bring together all possible means of defence; at the moment, in short, that a terrible struggle is about to continue and promises to be more furious; convinced that there has never been for France, for your name, for yourself, a more critical moment, I come, Sire, to offer to the country in which I was born, to you, to my name, the little health which remains to me and all the services of which I am capable, provided I am able to do so with honor.

Sire, I belong to Holland, to which you gave me yourself against my wishes. I left my kingdom only after having endured my position as long as it was humanly possible for a man born a Frenchman and your brother. To-day, Holland and commercial affairs have become of secondary importance; it is possible that it is your intention to bring your brother back to yourself, and that it is of some consequence to you to make sure of Holland through herself. In this case, Sire, please reëstablish a kingdom which was your creation, and I am entirely ready to devote all my efforts to the assistance of France and of Your Majesty in the great contest which doubtless is going to continue more ardently than ever.

APPENDIX

H

Napoleon to Louis

PARIS, 16 January 1813

My brother, I am in receipt of your letter of the first January, and I see with pleasure the sentiments which animate you. I have already made known to you that your duties toward me, your Fatherland, and your children, demand your return to France. Your children are growing up, and have need of their father. Return then without more delay, and I will receive you, not as a brother whom you have offended, but as a brother who brought you up. As for the ideas that you have regarding the state of my affairs, they are wrong: I have a million men on foot and two hundred millions in my coffers to maintain the integrity of the Confederation and of that of my allies, and to assure the success of the project which I have conceived for the happiness of my peoples. Holland is French for all time; she is the emanation of our territory; the mouth of our rivers; she can no longer be happy except with France, and she well feels it. In remaining in France, you will not separate yourself from Holland; but, if you understand, by separating, that you give up governing her, it was you yourself who quit her in abdicating. . . . "

I

Madame Mère to Louis

PARIS, 16 February 1813

My dear son, your letters of the first and second January have been forwarded to me by the Emperor. At the same time he has communicated to me those that you addressed to me for him. I cannot tell you how much satisfaction and contentment I have derived from them. From the bottom of my heart, I thank Heaven for having inspired you to take this step under the present circumstances; it does honor to your heart as well as to your mind, and I should love you the more if my tenderness for you were susceptible of augmentation. But it is not enough, my dear son, to have taken the first step: it is necessary for you not to withdraw, and to crown your work. The Emperor has had me read his reply to you. As nearly as I am able to judge, aside from the question of Holland, you ought to be

content. He ends by begging you strongly to come to rejoin him at Paris, and I join my supplications to his, to pray you this time not to refuse his invitation. . . . If it be necessary, as your mother I command you to do so.

K

Louis to Madame Mère

[No date]

My dear mother, why make me always repeat the same things? I can reside only in Holland, which, in spite of myself, has become my country since 1806. I would consent to become once more a Frenchman if my brother were willing to return Holland to my son, and to agree that I should become a simple private citizen. What can I do? Return to France, to behold there faithless Hollanders, and, by my presence, seem to thank my brother for what he has taken away from me, as well as from my children: the throne which he contributed so much to have me obtain? If he cannot, or will not, acknowledge that I was forced to abdicate, and maintains that I abandoned my kingdom of my own free will, can he deny that my son, at least, has not abdicated? He has done nothing for which he should be disinherited like his father! No! my dear mama, I should suffer a thousand times more than in remaining abroad; I would endure a thousand deaths rather than do what is against my conscience and my duty. Do not speak to me of it again.

L

Louis to Caulaincourt

Soleure, 7 December 1813

What I feared, and wished to spare to Holland, has happened, and there is no longer time to do what I then projected. Since, you have become Minister of Foreign Affairs, and have been named for the Congress at Mannheim. Under these new circumstances, I address myself once more to the Emperor, despite his previous refusals, to ask his consent to my sending envoys to Holland to ascertain the wishes of the nation; and, at the same time, I request that the voice of Holland shall not be expressed to the Congress by the Prince of Orange, but by myself. I cannot believe that the Emperor prefers

that another House, in place of one of his name, should reach the throne through his influence. Holland having been evacuated, and being in a state of excitement, it seems to me that there can no longer be any obstacle to me in France. Personally convinced that my demand is in the interests of France, and of peace, I ask your interest and your support with the Emperor.

M

THE MAUBREUIL AFFAIR

One of the most mysterious events connected with the First Restoration was the so-called *Affaire Maubreuil*. M. Masson considered it of sufficient importance to devote an entire volume to the subject, and M. Pasquier gives it many pages in his *Mémoires*.[1]

Maubreuil, whose real name seems to have been Marie-Armand de Buerry, had held the position, for a time, of écuyer of the Queen of Westphalia, at the Court of Cassel. From there he had gone with the Westphalian light cavalry to Spain, where he was decorated for his services. Later, he was transferred to the French army, where he dropped out of sight.

On the 2 April 1814, this adventurer was furnished with a permit to withdraw some uniforms of the chasseurs of the Guard from the École Militaire, at Paris. Two weeks later (the 16th), the new Minister of War, General Dupont, placed at his disposal all of the armed forces of the Kingdom. The following day (the 17th), the Police Commissioner, Anglès, directed all of the Police officials in France to render him " all of the assistance necessary to fulfill the mission confided to him." That same day, Bourrienne,[2] Director-General of the Posts, issued orders that M. de Maubreuil, " charged with an important mission," should be supplied promptly with the number of horses and postilions necessary for his task. From General Sacken, the military governor of Paris, he received an order giving him free passage through the Russian forces.

What then was the object of this secret mission, thus aided and abetted by the whole power of the Royal Government? From a confidential communication made by Duc Dalberg to M. Pasquier,[3]

[1] See Masson, *L'Affaire Maubreuil,* and 10 *Napoléon et sa famille,* 29 *et seq.,* and 57–62; also 2 Pasquier, 366–375.

[2] The former schoolmate and secretary of Napoleon

[3] 2 Pasquier, 286.

it seems certain that it was the " removal " of the Emperor. The mission was of such importance that no one — neither Dupont, nor Anglès, nor Bourrienne, nor Sacken — ever revealed the true motive. It was a secret of State, a Royal secret — the secret of the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, the Comte d'Artois, who ten years before, " by his own admission, was maintaining sixty assassins at Paris." [4]

It is impossible to imagine that such extraordinary powers were confided to an adventurer like Maubreuil for the purpose of robbing the Queen of Westphalia. Apparently, Maubreuil found the Emperor too well guarded at Fontainebleau to afford any opportunity for his assassination, so he was forced to be content with smaller game. But the Royal Government was so deeply involved in the whole damnable scheme that it did not dare to bring this bandit to trial and judgment, and he went scot-free! [5]

N

JOSÉPHINE'S ESTATE

The estate of Joséphine was appraised after her death at about nine million francs gross, subject to nearly three millions of debts. Eugène received Navarre, under the terms of the original grant; he also took the château of Malmaison, with its large park, extending then to the village of Rueil, and assumed the payment of his mother's debts. Hortense received the château of Pregny, near Geneva, which was valued at 130,000 francs,[6] and the estate of Chaussée, estimated at 520,000. This property, consisting of a château and about 350 acres of land, situated between Rueil and Bougival, upon the route from Paris to Saint-Germain, had been purchased by Joséphine a year before her death.

Eugène and Hortense divided equally the remainder of their mother's property, consisting mainly of her fine collection of diamonds and other jewels, valued at nearly two million francs; the paintings, silver, objets d'art, and laces, over half a million; and the arrears on her dowery, about 700,000 francs. The share of Eugène, including Navarre, came to over three millions and a half; that of Hortense to somewhat less than two millions and a half.

[4] Clause from Napoleon's last will and testament at Saint Helena.

[5] See also, for his version of the affair, Talleyrand's *Memoirs,* Vol. III, 221–223.

[6] The contract, passed on the 25 April 1811, gives the price as 145,000 francs, plus 20,000 for the furniture.

Hortense admits that her mother was prodigal and careless in money matters, but she warmly defends her against the charges of undue extravagance. She says that the Emperor expected all the members of his family to expend freely the large allowances that he made them; that her mother was very generous to all around her, paying out between two and three hundred thousand francs a year in pensions; that half a million of her debts was due on dots which she had promised, and a million more upon contracts for the purchase of property of various kinds.[7]

O

HEALTH OF NAPOLEON DURING THE HUNDRED DAYS

The authorities differ so greatly regarding the Emperor's physical condition during the Hundred Days that it is very difficult to reach any definite conclusion on the subject. There is little doubt, however, that the Napoleon who returned in March 1815 was very different from the one who left in April 1814. From being fat, he had become obese: he was another man.

" During these three months, which have been well-termed the *siècle des Cent-jours,*" writes Chancellor Pasquier, " circumstances were, without doubt, very powerful, and of a nature to depress the strongest spirit; but I cannot help thinking that his genius, like his physical forces, was in a profound decline." [8]

The Emperor's lassitude was strikingly manifest to all eyes. The exhaustion of his nervous system has been attributed by a medical observer to: " the uncertainty of the voyage, the risks of landing, the stirring hazards of the march on Paris, the reorganization of the government, the reconstruction of the army, the preparations for the campaign in Belgium, finally, the renewal of the heavy and fatiguing labor to which he had not been accustomed for a year." [9]

Many have reported that Napoleon, at this time, had frequent attacks of somnolence, that he was often found drowsy over his work; and yet, contrary to his former custom, he slept fifteen hours at a stretch. Baudus writes: " It was said, at this time, that Napoleon, who had always used a great deal of coffee, took even more in 1815,

[7] Hortense, 2 *Mémoires,* 254 *et seq.* See also 10 Masson, 389.
[8] Pasquier, 3 *Mémoires,* 276.
[9] Paul Triaire, *Dominique Larrey,* 658 *et seq.*

without succeeding entirely in overcoming the tendency to somnolence which had become habitual to him." [10]

Jérôme thought that the Emperor, on his return from Elba, had an air of fatigue; and Lucien declared that his condition was more grave than it seemed. Savary, who saw Napoleon the night that he left Paris for Flanders, states that he was suffering tortures from his stomach.[11]

Hobhouse reports that during the Imperial session (7 June), the Emperor " seemed to suffer considerably from his chest." [12]

Lavalette states that the eve of his departure for the army (11 June), Napoleon " suffered severely from his chest." [13]

In his manuscript notes, preserved in the French Archives, Lucien writes: " The Emperor spoke to me of his health. Due to his malady, he has a great propensity for sleep. . . . He himself is astonished that he had the strength to leave the island of Elba." [14]

Based upon all these reports, most of the historians of the Hundred Days have assumed that the moral depression of the Emperor, which they much exaggerate, was due to the state of his health. According to some, he had a painful attack of hemorrhoids; according to others, he had stomach trouble, or a malady even worse.[15]

To all of these vague, and more or less conjectural statements, the manuscript of Napoleon's valet, Marchand, opposes a positive refutation; and certainly, upon the question of a man's health, no testimony can be more decisive than that of his personal attendant. Marchand admits the Emperor's discouragement, and momentary periods of mental prostration; but he attributes them entirely to moral causes, and not to illness. In the *Cahier* devoted to the Hundred Days, the valet returns four times to this subject; and each time he

[10] Baudus, 1 *Études sur Napoléon,* 209. Colonel de Baudus, as a former aide de camp of Soult and of Besssières, had had frequent opportunities of observing Napoleon, and he states that the Emperor, in 1815, was no longer the same man — " so vigilant, so active, so prompt to profit by his success, so admirable in the rapid decisions of his warlike genius."

[11] See Rosebery, *Napoléon, la dernière phase,* 136–137. (Eng. ed., 118–119.)

[12] Hobhouse, 2 *Lettres,* 19.

[13] Lavalette, 2 *Mémoires,* 89.

[14] On the contrary, all the reports from Elba show that Napoleon enjoyed perfect health, and that his activity, both of body and mind, was remarkable. (See Henry Houssaye, 1 *1815,* 148, 151, 154, 179, 185–186, and 192–194.) In his edition of the works of Lucien Bonaparte, these notes have been odiously distorted by Jung. (See 3 *Mémoires,* 263.)

[15] See Charras, *Campagne de 1815,* 512.

declares that the Emperor was in good health, that his life was most active, that he had all of his power of work, and all of his vital energy, but that he was profoundly discouraged by the " ill-will, the inactivity, and the stubbornness of his *entourage*." [16]

Summing up the evidence in the case, M. Houssaye declares that " the man of the campaign of 1814 had not deteriorated. He had returned to France with the plenitude and the activity of his genius, and the power of his will." And he adds in a foot-note: " It has been said, without the slightest foundation, that the faculties of Napoleon were enfeebled. His voluminous correspondence during the Hundred Days, of which not half has been published; his talks, reported by Fleury, Molé, and Benjamin Constant; his orders of the day, his harangues, his public speeches, his plan of campaign — all these demonstrate that his prodigious intellect had remained equal unto itself." [17]

On the other hand, a great English military critic, Lord Wolseley, attributes the disastrous result of the Waterloo campaign entirely to the " mysterious malady," which " had been the cause of so much disaster to him both in Russia and at the battle of Dresden." " The more I study his grandly conceived plan of campaign for 1815," he continues, " the more convinced I am that the overwhelming defeat in which it ended was primarily the result of bodily disease, and the failure of mental power which resulted from it at supreme moments when rapid and energetic decision was imperatively necessary for success." [18]

During the long march from Fréjus to Grenoble, Napoleon gave conclusive proofs of his powers of endurance; but, after his arrival at Paris, he took absolutely no exercise. From the date of his arrival, on the 20 March, to the time he left for the army, on the 11 June, a period of nearly three months, he went outside the city limits only three times: once to Saint-Denis, once to Bagatelle, and once to Malmaison. He also made a few tours of inspection around the city. But all this amounted to nothing in comparison with the frequent stag-hunts, in previous years, in the Bois de Boulogne or the forests around

[16] On this point, *cf.* Lavalette, 2 *Mémoires,* 169; Mollien, 4 *Mémoires,* 197; and Pasquier, 3 *Mémoires,* 169 *et seq.*

[17] Houssaye, *Op. cit.* 617–618.

[18] Wolseley, *The Decline and Fall of Napoleon,* 185–187.

Versailles. And it was not so much the excess of work which prevented him, as a lack of energy. It required an arduous effort on his part to overcome his growing tendency to lethargy. He no longer possessed the will to give his body the exercise of which it stood in such pressing need. Napoleon, in his own words, " lived only by the skin," and his health demanded the profuse perspiration which only violent exercise could produce. Lacking that, his system became clogged, and he was liable to an attack of the " mysterious malady," which prostrated him at Borodino and at Dresden.[19]

Monsieur Lenient, the author of a recent work on this question, is not willing to admit that the pathological factor played any rôle at Waterloo, contrary to the opinion of many writers,[20] who contend that Napoleon's illness would explain the uncertainty of his decisions. Lenient attributes the defeat to the " incurable optimism " of the Emperor, which had been constantly growing upon him since 1805 to 1807, the period of his greatest victories. As early as 1809, Napoleon was loath to accept any advice contrary to his own ideas, and this was the principal reason for his defeat in 1813.[21]

Doctor Cabanès, who devoted many years to the study of Napoleon's health, and its influence upon his career, reached practically the same conclusion.[22] He states that the Emperor was suffering, the day of Waterloo, from a local indisposition, which was very painful, but in no sense grave. In the words of Bertrand and Gourgaud: " These pains were the reason that Napoleon remained constantly on foot, even when it was important that he should go to one point or another of the battle-field." [23]

That Napoleon was not well at Waterloo, and that his state of health had some influence upon the fate of the day, no one can deny; but it is absurd to claim that his malady was the sole, or even the principal, cause of his defeat.

[19] *Cf.* 11 Masson, 293–294.
[20] Colonel Charras, Colonel Grouard, Lord Wolseley, and many others.
[21] Lenient, *La Solution des Énigmes de Waterloo* (Paris, 1915).
[22] Cabanès, *Au chevet de l'Empereur,* 279.
[23] Charras, *Histoire de la campagne de 1815,* 512, note H.

APPENDIX

P

A PLOT TO RESCUE NAPOLEON

During the five years that Napoleon lived at Saint Helena numerous plots were made to rescue him, and the centre of all these schemes was Joseph, the only one of the brothers of the Emperor who was in a position to aid such an attempt. The most serious of these conspiracies was connected with the " Champ d'Asile," a colony of French refugees which was founded at this time in Texas. The leaders in this enterprise were four former general officers of the Emperor: Rigau, Lefebvre-Desnoëttes, and the two brothers Lallemand. Upon their summons two or three hundred officers and soldiers of the Old Guard had crossed the ocean and gathered at the Camp, where they only awaited the signal to rush to the rescue of their old commander.

Rigau had served in all the wars of the Empire. He particularly distinguished himself at Austerlitz, was made general of brigade in 1807, and baron the following year. He came to the United States in 1817 and settled at New Orleans.

Lefebvre-Desnoëttes was an aide de camp of Bonaparte in Italy, became general of brigade, and received the title of comte in 1808. During the Hundred Days he was made a peer of France, and was in command of the Light Cavalry at Waterloo. After the battle he emigrated to America and bought land in Alabama, where he devoted himself to agriculture.

The two Lallemands were both born in Metz. The elder, Frédéric, was an aide de camp of Junot, was made colonel after Jena, and in 1811 became general of brigade. During the Hundred Days, Napoleon made him general of division and peer of France. Henri, the younger brother, was also made general of division at the same time. They both fought at Waterloo, and came to the United States soon after the battle.

Besides these four officers of the Empire, there were three Americans of French descent who were prominent in the conspiracy. The most important of these was Nicolas Girod, who had been for many years a resident of New Orleans. During the " historic years " of 1812–15 he was mayor of the city, and in concert with General Jackson had contributed valiantly to its defence against the English. Girod was a great admirer of Napoleon, and his house was filled with busts and pictures of the Emperor.

The two American associates of Girod were the brothers Jean

and Pierre Lafitte, the pirates who for many years were the scourge of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1814 they refused the solicitations of the British to join them in the attack on New Orleans, and offered their services to Girod. They took a prominent part in the battle of the 8 January 1815, and displayed such courage and fidelity that they received a free pardon from President Madison.

Girod secured the support of a few Frenchmen living at New Orleans and at Charleston, who were equally devoted to the Great Emperor, and funds were subscribed for the construction of a vessel of exceptional speed and strength, with the object of rescuing Napoleon from Saint Helena. The boat was built at Charleston under the inspection of the younger Lallemand, and was named *Séraphine*.

The commander selected for the clipper was Dominick Yon, whom the Creoles of Louisiana called Capitaine Dominique, the lieutenant of Lafitte; and the crew was recruited from the former companions of the pirate. The men selected were not only fighters of proved valor, but also sailors of superior ability, whom Yon had trained to manœuvre in silence.

Such was the confidence of the associates in the success of their project that, at his own expense, Girod constructed, decorated, and furnished a fine house for the residence of the Emperor on his arrival at New Orleans. This mansion, at the corner of Saint Louis and Chartres streets, is still known as "Napoleon's House," and is a lasting monument to the devotion of Nicolas Girod.

All the preparations had been made, and the date fixed for the sailing of the *Séraphine,* when the news reached New Orleans of the death of the Emperor at Longwood on the fifth day of May 1821.

Napoleon probably knew little or nothing of these plans to rescue him. During the years that he was at Saint Helena he received only four letters from Joseph — two in 1817, one in 1818, and the last in February 1820. A fifth letter, written in May 1820, did not arrive until after his death. Although he sent Joseph several verbal communications by persons who left the island, he wrote him only once. This letter, dated 15 March 1818, contains a phrase which seems to urge some attempt to secure his freedom: "If they leave the Emperor here, they will have knowingly killed him."

Very little information regarding this curious episode is to be found in the memoirs or correspondence of the time, and the whole affair has remained enveloped in a cloud of mystery. The few persons who knew the facts carried the secret with them to their graves.

Rigau died at New Orleans some months before the preparations for the expedition were completed. In 1822 Lefebvre-Desnoëttes, who was pining for his native land, obtained permission to return home, but the ship on which he sailed was wrecked on the coast of Ireland and all of the passengers perished. The following year Henri Lallemand died at the home of King Joseph in Bordentown. Frédéric Lallemand was for a number of years at the head of a school in New York City. After the July Revolution he returned to France; in 1832 he was reinstated by Louis-Philippe in his grade in the army and as peer of France. He was for a time governor of Corsica. Although he lived until 1839, he left no memoirs. Napoleon gave him 100,000 francs in his will, and also the same amount to Rigau, whom he called " Martyr de la gloire." This would seem to indicate that he was cognizant of their plans.

Q

AGREEMENT WITH DR. STOKOE

" Doctor Stokoe is considered as the surgeon of Napoleon, and he will assume with him the position of French surgeon. . . . He cannot be removed without the consent of Napoleon, to say the least by a simple order of the governor, and above all during the continuance of the illness. . . . During the period that he shall perform the functions of Napoleon's physician, he shall not be subject to any military discipline or duties, and shall be considered as an English civil employé. He must not render any person whatsoever an account of the health of Napoleon. Every week, and oftener if that be necessary, he shall draw up a bulletin of Napoleon's health, of which he shall make two copies, one to be handed to one of the officers of Longwood, the other to the governor whenever he shall desire it. . . . No restrictions shall be imposed upon him as to his communications with Napoleon and the French, either by writing or by word of mouth, by night or by day. He shall not be obliged to render an account of what he sees or hears at Longwood unless he shall judge that it will compromise his oath of allegiance to his country and his sovereign.

" Doctor Stokoe assumes the obligation to serve, in his position near Napoleon, independently of all prejudice or party spirit, as if he were his compatriot, and not to make any bulletin or any report upon his malady, without giving him the original.

" Monsieur Stokoe, in accepting these conditions, preserves the integrity of all his rights as an English citizen and officer; he asks to receive from the Admiralty the same salary as his predecessor, and understands that he is in no manner subject to the conditions of the French prisoners — all this with the permission of his chief, Rear-Admiral Plampin."

The document is dated, Longwood, 17 January 1819. (O'Meara, *Relation des événements arrivés à Sainte-Hélène,* 253 *et seq.*)

R

NAPOLEON'S WILL

The Testament of Napoleon was brought to Europe by his executors, the comtes Bertrand and Montholon, and the first valet de chambre Marchand. As a measure of prudence, only the copy was filed in France, and the original was deposited at Canterbury, England, until the year 1853, when it was transferred to the French Archives, where it is now preserved.

The Testament proper, and the five Codicils, all in the hand of Napoleon, are written on five pages of Whatman paper 33 centimètres long by 21 wide. They have been published in facsimile by Frédéric Masson, in the édition de luxe of *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène,* and reproduced by his permission in the *Édition centenaire de la mort de Napoléon* of *L'Illustration* (5 mai 1921).

Joined to the Testament, there is an Inventory of his arms and effects, and Instructions for his executors, dictated but signed by the Emperor; also two letters, one to the banker Laffitte, the other to Baron de La Bouillerie, treasurer of the Private Domain, dictated, signed, and dated the 25 April 1821.

The writing in the Testament is the same as that in all of the autograph letters and papers of the year 1815, preserved in the Archives. Although written on the 15 and 16 April, less than three weeks before his death, no special signs of weakness or fatigue are evident. As usual with Napoleon, the spelling is careless, and there are few marks of punctuation. The Emperor, who was accustomed to dictating, treated the words somewhat like signs, of which it was sufficient to indicate the essential, and sometimes only the first letters. It is evident, however, that Napoleon had made a special effort to write clearly, and the signatures are firm.

Following is a summary of the most important parts of the Will:

1. He states that he dies in the Apostolic and Roman religion in which he was born.

2. He wishes his ashes to repose upon the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom he loved so well.

3. He says that he has only words of praise for " his very dear spouse Marie-Louise," for whom he " conserves up to the last moment the most tender sentiments."

4. He recommends his son never to forget that he was born a French prince: he should adopt his father's motto: *Tout pour le peuple français.*

5. He dies prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy.

6. The unfortunate issues of the two invasions of France were due to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette.

7. He thanks his " good and very excellent mother"; the Cardinal; his brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jérôme; Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they had guarded for him. He pardons Louis for the libel published in 1820, which is full of false assertions and forged documents.

8. He disavows the *Manuscrit de Sainte-Hélène.*

(Here he interlines the famous declaration regarding the execution of the Duc d'Enghien.)

II

1. He leaves to his son his orders, arms, camp-bed, and so forth.

2. To Lady Holland, the antique cameo presented to him by Pius VI.

3. To Comte Montholon, two million francs.

4. To Comte Bertrand, five hundred thousand francs.

5. To Marchand, four hundred thousand francs. " The services he has rendered me were those of a friend."

6–11. To three servants, each one hundred thousand francs; to another, fifty thousand; to two others, each twenty-five thousand.

12. To the abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs.

13–34. He leaves one hundred thousand francs apiece to: Las Cases, Lavalette, Larrey, Brayer, Lefebvre-Desnoëttes, Drouot, Cambronne; the children of Mouton Duverney, Labédoyère, Girard (killed at Ligny), Chartrand, and Travot; to the elder Lallemand, Réal, Costa de Bastelica (in Corsica), Clauzel, Méneval, Arnault, Marbot, Bignon, Poggi di Talavo, and the surgeon Emery.

Of the surgeon Larrey, he says: " He is the most virtuous man I

have known." Of Marbot: " I engage him to continue to write for the defence of the glory of the French armies." Of Bignon: " I engage him [to write] the history of French diplomacy from 1792 [to 1815]."

35. He states that the above sums are taken from the six millions that he placed [with Laffitte] on leaving Paris in 1815, with interest at the rate of 5% since July of that year. He figures that the above legacies total 5,600,000, and the balance is to be distributed among those wounded at Waterloo, and the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the island of Elba.

III

Under paragraphs 1 and 2, he bequeaths half of his Private Domain, estimated at two hundred millions, " to the living officers of the French Army who fought from 1792 to 1815 for the glory and the independence of the Nation "; the remaining half, to the eight provinces of France which most suffered from the two invasions.

The Testament of Napoleon forms a most interesting document to study. It shows the spirit of the man, with his cult for France, his profound attachment to his family, his love for his son, his fidelity to his old soldiers.

It is proper to state that the executors were given a most difficult task. They were denied all access to Marie-Louise and the Duc de Reichstadt. To pay the legacies, large sums proved uncollectable: the Private Domain, covered into the Treasury by Royal decree in 1818; the property in Italy, passed into other hands; the two millions appropriated by Marie-Louise in 1814, which she refused to repay. There was also some doubt as to the right of Napoleon, under the French laws, to disinherit his son; and, up to 1837, Marie-Louise, as the heir of her son, endeavored to have recognized her rights to the Imperial succession!

In addition to all this, it was found that the deposit with Laffitte, after deducting numerous payments from time to time authorized by Napoleon, had shrunk to three millions, in face of nine millions of legacies. However, Napoleon the Third finally came to the rescue, and the principal legacies were settled.

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